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MEXICAN PETROLEUM TAXES

Any study of the recent Mexican revolution must take into consideration the economic factors involved. Among these economic factors, one which is certain to be of great weight in determining the course of the revolution, is the factor of financial pressure, both internal and external, on the treasury of Mexico. A part, at least, of the controversy between the United States and Mexico over petroleum and other United States interests in Mexico may be traced to this source. With an ever increasing deficit in the treasury of the government, ever increasing needs of the war department for funds to suppress counter revolution, vociferous demands of creditors of the Mexican nation, a depreciated currency, and few large sources of revenue, what could be a more natural way out than to tax the new boom industry—petroleum? The way in which the pressure of foreign holders of Mexican government securities was felt directly appears in the events leading up to the tax settlement of 1921-1922, and the recognition of Obregón in 1923. The pressure of United States investors in Mexico on the United States government should also be considered, although care must be taken not to assign it an unduly large place, for many other factors were at work to determine the policy of the United States toward Mexico.¹

¹ See Chester Lloyd Jones, *Mexico and its Reconstruction* (New York, 1921); Herbert I. Priestley, "The Carranza Débauché", *University of California Chronicle*, XXII (1920), 238 ff.; Sáenz and Priestley, *Some Mexican Problems* (University of Chicago Press, 1926, p. 26); *Mexican Year Book, 1922-1924* (Los Angeles, 1924), p. 279-280.

Taxation of petroleum in Mexico has usually taken the form of taxing petroleum exported from the country. Since most of the petroleum produced in Mexico is exported, this kind of tax reaches almost the entire product. One of the exceptions to this general rule was Carranza's land tax, imposed by decree of February 19, 1918. This tax was never of any importance, however, because it was not enforced to any appreciable extent.²

IMPUESTO DE TIMBRE AND DERECHO DE BARRA

Before 1917 there were two taxes on crude petroleum in Mexico: the *impuesto de timbre*, or stamp tax, and the *derecho de barra*, or bar duties.³ The stamp tax was a tax on petroleum whether exported or used in the country. It was a specific duty and varied in amount from 1912 to 1914 as follows:

June 3, 1912 (Madero)	\$.20 per ton
November 19, 1913 (Huerta)75 per ton
June 20, 1914 (Carranza)60 per ton

The bar duties were specific and assessed upon all exports. Hence they were imposed upon petroleum so far as it was exported. This made most of it subject to the duties. Prior to 1915 they were \$.50 per ton. On July 23 of that year they were lowered to \$.10. At that level they remained.⁴

CHANGES PROPOSED

In 1916, Julio Baz, Director of the Technical Commission of Petroleum, advised that the tax be changed to a 25 per cent tax to apply to all crude petroleum exported, including petroleum destroyed by fire or waste. Combustible petroleum

² *Mexican Year Book*, p. 314.

³ See the report of the director of the technical commission of petroleum, made to the Carranza Government, December 6, 1915, published in *Documentos relacionados con la Legislación Petrolera Mexicana* (Mexico, 1919), p. 139 ff.

⁴ *Documentos relacionados*, p. 139 ff.; *Boletín de Petróleo*, 1916-1929, monthly statements of petroleum tax *cuotas*. Throughout the article, dollars are Mexican dollars (*pesos*).

was to be taxed at 20 per cent *ad valorem* and refined petroleum at 12 per cent.⁵ There was to be no tax on petroleum consumed at home and none on imports. This proposal was to displace the stamp tax but not the bar duties.⁶

Two other proposals for tax revision were made at this time (1916). Leopoldo Vásquez and Antonio Madrazo revised the proposal of Julio Baz. In its revised form, as presented to the Department of *Hacienda*, the tax included the following:

1. A tax on petroleum companies.
2. A tax on petroleum exported or wasted, varying from \$.60 to \$1.50 per ton according to specific gravity. (This was equivalent to approximately 10 per cent *ad valorem*).
3. Exemption from tax of petroleum consumed in the country.
4. A high duty on imported petroleum and derivatives.⁷

The second proposal was made by Joaquín Santaella⁸ on November 30, 1916. His proposal included:

1. A special stamp tax on all petroleum products.
2. A tax on exported petroleum as follows:
Crude petroleum 15 per cent *ad valorem*.
Derivatives 5 per cent *ad valorem*.
3. Crude petroleum and natural gas lost in the country (wasted by carelessness of workers or by failure to observe laws, etc.), 25 per cent *ad valorem*.
4. No tax on petroleum imports.⁹

⁵ Crude petroleum is that destined for refining. Combustible petroleum is fuel oil.

⁶ For draft of this proposed tax law, see *Documentos relacionados*, p. 139 ff. The chief argument urged in favor of an *ad valorem* tax to replace the specific duties was that it would increase the revenue, and at the same time not overburden the petroleum producers, because it would impose a higher tax on the more valuable grades. The value varied from \$.60 to \$1.20 a barrel crude. *Ibid.*

⁷ A summary of this recommendation is given in *Documentos relacionados*, p. 157 f.

⁸ Later chief of the *Comisión Técnica de Petróleo*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 167 f.

PRODUCTION TAX OF APRIL 13, 1917

On April 13, 1917 Carranza issued a decree changing the stamp tax to an *ad valorem* tax. This was the Production Tax. It established the following rates:

1. Crude petroleum not destined for consumption in the nation—10 per cent *ad valorem*.
2. Combustible petroleum not destined for consumption in the nation—10 per cent *ad valorem*.
3. Crude petroleum used in the country, or to be refined in the country was not subject to tax. Likewise other petroleum products destined for use within the country.
4. Petroleum derivatives not destined for consumption in the country:
 - Gasoline (refined) $\frac{1}{2}$ centavo per litre.
 - Gasoline (crude) 1 centavo per litre.
 - Kerosene (refined) $\frac{1}{4}$ centavo per litre.
 - Kerosene (crude) $\frac{1}{2}$ centavo per litre.
 - Lubricants $\frac{1}{4}$ centavo per litre.
5. Values were established for crude petroleum: density of 0.91—\$14.00 per ton. For each 0.01 increase in density (up to 0.97) \$.40 per ton was to be subtracted from the valuation.
6. Values established for combustible petroleum: density of 0.91—\$9.50 per ton. For each 0.01 increase in density subtract \$.40. For each 0.01 decrease in density add \$.40. All over 0.97 in density valued at \$7.50.

The values set in the decree were to be only temporary. Every two months the secretary of Hacienda was to determine and publish the correct values, taking the mean of the selling price of the previous month. Crude petroleum or derivatives lost or wasted were to pay double the normal amount of the tax.¹⁰

Actually this tax was not a production tax, as it was called, but an export tax. It was not collected at the source of production but at the customs houses. Petroleum and

¹⁰ Decree of April 13, 1917. *Documentos relacionados*, p. 169 ff. Values are in Mexican money. Tons are metric tons.

derivatives destined for home consumption were specifically exempt from the tax. The reason for calling it a production tax is interesting and characteristic of the Mexican *fisc*. Before the time of Victoriano Huerta 62 per cent of the customs receipts were pledged for the payment of interest on the foreign debt. Huerta pledged the remaining 38 per cent in a somewhat questionable agreement. Legally, the receipts from an export tax, if one were enacted, would go to the nation's creditors. The government was in default on its bonds. So Louis Cabrera, Carranza's secretary of Hacienda, conceived the idea of calling the new tax a production tax, making it supplant the old stamp tax (*el timbre*) which had been imposed on all production, but excepting from the tax all petroleum destined for consumption in Mexico.¹¹

PROTESTS AGAINST THE TAX

Although dissatisfaction with the decree did not enter to any great extent in the general petroleum controversy, there were protests against the tax. For the most part, the right of the government to impose the tax seems to have been taken for granted, but the rates were objected to. One article appearing under the caption, "The Petroleum Industry has suffered a Blow", is typical of the protests.¹² It charged that the law was prejudicial to the petroleum industry, that it would discourage foreign investment. It compared the government's tax policy with that of the Russian government, which, it was charged, was bringing about a decline of the petroleum industry in that country.

The protests are largely embodied in the report of the Petroleum Section of the National Industrial Congress held in Mexico City in 1917. In addition to protesting the rate, the report pointed out the unfairness of using the New York market value as the basis of computing the tax, since trans-

¹¹ *Excelsior*, November 8, 1921. Signed article by Carlos Díaz Dufoo.

¹² *The Petroleum Review*, May 19, 1917. The article is reprinted in *Documentos relacionados*, p. 173 ff.

portation costs were so large a part of that value. It also objected to values for *distillados* (half crude gasoline and half crude kerosene) and of crude kerosene being placed so near to that of refined gasoline, whereas in reality they were not more than seventy-five per cent as valuable.¹³

Of course, any industry would object to an increase in taxes on its products. The petroleum industry seems to have accepted this tax with no more than the usual bad grace. Their one legitimate complaint, the method of evaluation, was somewhat remedied by subsequent decrees.¹⁴ In the following table I have computed the tax under the decree of April 13, 1917, using the values established by that decree.

PETROLEUM TAX UNDER DECREE OF APRIL 13, 1917¹⁵

Density	Value Per Ton	Previous Tax	Tax Under Decree of April 13
0.91 crude petroleum	\$14.00	.60	1.40
0.97 crude petroleum	11.60	.60	1.16
00.91 combustible petroleum . . .	9.50	.60	.95
0.97 combustible petroleum . . .	7.50	.60	.75

In some cases, on the higher grades of oil, there was an increase of almost 130 per cent. Most of the Mexican oil, however, was of the lower grades (higher density), and for these the tax was not so great. The later changes in methods of evaluation, referred to above, lowered the tax considerably.¹⁶

The production tax has been changed very little. A decree of December 29, 1919, provided that only \$.20 should be subtracted from the taxable value for each increase of 0.01 in density, and *vice-versa*, and that the secretary of Hacienda

¹³ Report of the meetings of the congress was published by the Mexican Government as *Algunos documentos relativos al primer Congreso Nacional de Industriales* (Mexico, 1917). The report of the petroleum section is on p. 241.

¹⁴ Decrees of June 30, and October 16, 1917. See *Legislación Petrolera*, I.

¹⁵ Values established by decree of April 13, 1917. The "previous tax" of the third column is the *impuesto de timbre*.

¹⁶ Changes in value of petroleum products are published monthly in the *Boletín de Petróleo*.

should fix the values of crude petroleum bi-monthly, taking as a basis the average market price in New York during the previous month.¹⁷ Subsequent decrees and regulations provided machinery for collecting the tax, and modified somewhat the methods of determining values and fixing the *cuotas* or rates of payment, but in its essential features the tax remained unchanged.¹⁸ In recent years this tax has been included in the annual revenue bill passed by the congress, and its collection has been combined with that of the export tax.¹⁹

THE EXPORT TAX

Before 1917, petroleum was not subject to an export tax, except the rather nominal bar duties mentioned previously. The production tax of April 13, 1917, although in its practical effect it was a tax on petroleum exports, was not technically an export tariff. In the export tariff law of 1917 petroleum was specifically exempt.²⁰ The same tariff was carried on during the Carranza and Obregón régimes by presidential decree, with no changes in respect to petroleum.²¹ Except for a few unimportant petroleum derivatives, there has never been any question of taxing petroleum imports.²²

In 1920, a tax was passed, called *de infalsificables*, which laid on minerals and petroleum an additional duty of one peso, *papel infalsificable* (paper money), for each peso paid in gold. The tax *de infalsificables* had the dual purpose of securing funds for beginning the retirement of the national debt, and of raising the value of the *papel infalsificable*. It remained in

¹⁷ *Legislación Petrolera*, I. 157 f.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 177 ff., and p. 213 ff.; *Boletín de la Secretaría de Hacienda*, XVI. (1922), 17.

¹⁹ Revenue bills in the bulletin of the department of Hacienda, XX., XXII., and XXIV.

²⁰ *Tarifa de los derechos de exportación*, June 13, 1917, in *Boletín de la Secretaría de Hacienda*, IV. (1917), 346 ff.

²¹ See *ibid.*, VI., VIII., X., XII., and XIV.

²² See tariff law of July 31, 1916, *ibid.*, III., and the decree of March 9, 1921, *Legislación Petrolera*, I. 203 ff. (also in *Boletín de la Secretaría de Hacienda*, XII.).

effect until September 15, 1921, producing about four and a half million pesos in 1920 and slightly more in 1921.²³

Then on June 7, 1921, President Obregón, by presidential decree, established an export tax on petroleum. The law, which was to take effect on July 1, established the following rates per cubic metre on all petroleum exported from the country:

Crude petroleum, 0.96 or less	\$2.50
Crude petroleum, over 0.96	1.55
Fuel oil	2.00
Gas oil	4.65
Crude gasoline	9.40

There were rates for refined gasoline, crude kerosene, refined kerosene, and lubricants in proportion.²⁴

The export tax annulled neither of the other taxes on petroleum, but was an additional duty. There has been some controversy as to whether there was not an ulterior purpose on the part of the government in imposing this tax. Later developments make it appear as if it might have been intended as a measure to bring pressure to bear on American financiers to get a favorable settlement of Mexico's foreign debt. Such shrewdness was not beyond Obregón and Adolfo de la Huerta, his secretary of Hacienda, but there is no direct evidence to prove they had such a purpose in mind when the tax was enacted.

There are more reasonable explanations of its purpose. In Mexico a deficit in the budget was chronic. The existence of a large untapped source of revenue was not to be overlooked. Phenomenal development of the petroleum industry since 1917 seemed to justify heavier taxation. It was feared,

²³ Decree of February 24, 1920, in *Boletín de Petróleo*, February, 1920. Also published in *El Diario Oficial*, March 2, 1920. The decree annulling the tax was passed September 8, 1921, *Legislación Petrolera*, I. 223. See also *Boletín de Petróleo*, XV. (1923), 339.

²⁴ *Legislación Petrolera*, I. 215 ff.

too, that the United States would soon place a heavy tariff on petroleum imports to protect United States producers who were becoming clamorous in their demands. Such a proposition was considered in the United States congress in December, 1921, and the senate committee's hearings on the subject attracted some attention. However, Mexico took action first.²⁵ The opinion was widespread in Mexico, moreover, that the price of Mexican petroleum was being "fixed" in New York, for the benefit of United States refiners, for the price was invariably lower than that for United States oils.²⁶ There is, of course, a great difference in the value of the crudes. The United States crudes were generally superior in quality. Furthermore, the price of Mexican crudes did not include transportation charges, which added materially to the cost. There is no evidence to prove price fixing, and we may assume that the prices were due to the economic factors involved. What is important is that this situation seemed to indicate to Mexican officials that the industry could stand an additional tax. When the congress of the United States was discussing an import tariff of \$1.50 on Mexican petroleum, a tax of \$.35 did not appear excessive to Mexican eyes.²⁷

The statement of E. J. Dillon that it was Mexico's prime necessity to meet payments on the foreign debt which led to the tax, and that the inability to negotiate foreign loans left this the only available means of raising revenue, may be taken for what it is worth.²⁸ The decree itself stated that its purpose was to prevent excessive production, and to forestall the imposing of import taxes by other nations.²⁹ The Mexican position in general was summed up by Carlos Selliner, chief

²⁵ *New York Times*, June 19, 1921 and December 29, 1921. *Excelsior*, December 30, 1921. See also the unpublished thesis of Elva Fay Brown, "The Mexican Petroleum Controversy," University of California, 1925, p. 114 f., for protests of United States oil men.

²⁶ *Excelsior*, October 9, 1921.

²⁷ *Excelsior*, October 24, 1921. Rates are evidently in terms of barrels.

²⁸ *Excelsior*, August 29, 1921.

²⁹ Decree of June 7, 1921, in *Legislación Petrolera*, I. 215 f.

of the Technical Commission of Petroleum, in an article in the *Boletín de Petróleo*,³⁰ official organ of that branch of the government. He stated a number of reasons for the tax, chief of which were:

1. It would help meet payments on the national debt.
2. It would stop the overproduction of petroleum.
3. It would head off a reported movement in the United States to establish an import tax on Mexican petroleum, because of its competition with United States oil.

On July 1, most of the United States companies, members of the Mexican Oil Producers Association, discontinued shipment of petroleum from Mexico. The Standard Oil and allied companies, and the Mexican Petroleum Company and allied interests were chiefly involved.³¹ The effect on the export of petroleum was at once evident. From fourteen or fifteen million barrels a month, exportation dropped to under six million during July and August.³² Americans were not alone in denouncing the tax. The conservative *Excelsior* called the government's taxation venture "a dangerous game" and said the tax was "inopportune". A month later it denounced the policy of the government of limiting the production of petroleum by heavy taxation. Such a policy, it said, was "ultra-nationalism, narrow and blind".³³

On August 24, Walter C. Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, J. W. Van Dyke, president of the Atlantic Refining Company, Harry F. Sinclair, chairman of the Sinclair Consolidated Corporation, and Amos L. Beatty, president of the Texas Oil Company, left New York for Mexico City to interview Mexican government officials. They were joined on the way by E. L. Doheny.³⁴ On August 29-30 the oil kings conferred with Adolfo de la Huerta, secretary of hacienda, and President Obregón. On September

³⁰ Issue for August-September, 1921.

³¹ *Cur. Hist. Mag.*, XIV. (1921), 1075 ff.

³² Export statistics from *Mexican Year Book, 1922-1924*, p. 266.

³³ Issues of August 16, August 17, and September 14, 1921.

³⁴ *Cur. Hist. Mag.*, XV. (1921), 170 ff.; *New York Times*, September 3, 1921.

3, they reached some kind of agreement. All the meetings were held behind closed doors and the agreement was not made public, except for the announcement that the payment of the taxes was to be quarterly instead of monthly. The oil men were satisfied for the time, however, for exporting was resumed in September.³⁵

The agreement of September 3 continued to be enveloped in mystery. On September 15, the tax *de infalsificables* was repealed. In December, the government announced that the export tax would be enforced and back taxes collected, and that there would be no reductions.³⁶ The last part of this statement was not true, as later events show, and the Mexican government knew that reductions were to be allowed, under cover of an interesting fiction. As the year ended the tax deadlock, to outward appearances, seemed to continue. The only apparent concession was postponement of the date for payment of taxes to December 25. It was postponed again to January 25, 1922, and the *Current History Magazine* for January, 1922, reported that "the novel suggestion" had been made to the oil men "that they pay their taxes . . . in Mexican government bonds, bought in New York, thus settling the tax question and reducing Mexico's debt at the same time".³⁷ During January and February negotiations between the American companies and the Mexican government continued, apparently with the idea of reaching a further agreement.³⁸ Early in February, the date for payment of the taxes was reported to have been postponed indefinitely.³⁹ A presidential decree of February 12 provided:

1. Export taxes might be paid either in gold or in bonds of the public debt.
2. The bonds, including coupons, would be received at their nominal value, (at this time under 40).⁴⁰

³⁵ *New York Times*, September 5, 1921; *Mexican Year Book, 1922-1924*, p. 266.

³⁶ *New York Times*, December 8, 1921; *ibid.*, December 10, 1921.

³⁷ *Cur. Hist. Mag.*, XV. (1922), 674.

³⁸ *New York Times*, January 19 and 20, and February 12, 20, and 26, 1922.

³⁹ *Cur. Hist. Mag.*, XV. (1922), 1060.

⁴⁰ *Boletín de la Secretaría de Hacienda*, February, 1922.

Further insight into the nature of the September 3 agreement is given by the decree of August 17, 1922. It stated that there had been "an agreement with the principle parties affected", and "in exchange for the *important concessions made in the sixth clause of that document*", the government had decided to receive, at their face value, bonds of the public debt, in payment of the tax. These bonds were then (August, 1922) quoted at about 40. The decree went on to say that the decree of February 12 had provided that the tax might be paid in cash at forty per cent of the nominal amount, or in bonds of the national debt received at par. Since arrangements had now been made with the Mexican creditors at New York City on June 16, (Huerta-Lamont agreement), said the decree, and since that arrangement took the place of the "*convenio*" of September 3, 1921, the following export taxes were enacted to replace those of June 7, 1921, and were payable in cash only:

Crude petroleum, 0.96 or less	\$1.00
Crude petroleum, over 0.9662
Fuel oil80
Gas oil	1.86
Crude gasoline	3.76

Other petroleum products were in proportion.⁴¹ Under the terms of the decree of May 17, 1922, the department of hacienda issued monthly *cuotas*, including both the production and the export tax.⁴²

It is to be noted that the taxes established by the decree of August 17, 1922, are almost exactly forty per cent of those established by the decree of June 7, 1921. It would be interesting to know the exact contents of the "document", especially the sixth clause, referred to in the August decree. Until that document, if there is one, is published, we must rely on

⁴¹ The decree is found in *Boletín de la Secretaría de Hacienda*, August, 1922, p. 3.

⁴² See *Boletín de Petróleo*, XVIII. (1924), 173.

outside evidence to establish the nature of the agreement worked out on September 3, 1921, and in the months following.

What, then, were the terms of the agreement? Huerta's statement to the press on the day of the agreement contained only the information that an agreement had been made, and that the collection of taxes would be postponed until December (*i.e.*, quarterly, instead of monthly payments). His statement contained nothing about any promise to accept government bonds in payment of the tax, although subsequent developments prove this to be part of the arrangement.⁴³

It soon began to be apparent that something was happening to Mexican bonds on the market, for their value began to rise. This rise followed the announcement by the Mexican government that two and a half million pesos, receipts from the new tax, had been deposited in the National Bank of Mexico (*Banco Nacional*) to begin the retirement of the national debt.⁴⁴ In October, representatives of the Huasteca Petroleum Company explained to the reporter of *Excelsior* that the recent rise in price of Mexican bonds was due to the fact that the Mexican Government had said it would accept these bonds at par, in December, in payment of the export taxes.⁴⁵ In December, it became known that the Mexican Government had an agent in New York City, one Manuel Gómez Morín, whose business seemed to be to transmit messages between the Mexican Government and the *bankers* and the *oil men*.⁴⁶

It was generally known, also, during October, that the Mexican Government was purchasing Mexican bonds in the market. The *New York Times* charged that Mexico was breaking faith with its creditors by purchasing bonds at a low price, when, by the terms of the bonds, they were bound to redeem them at par. *Excelsior* replied to this charge by citing Secretary Mellon's similar conduct in purchasing lib-

⁴³ *Excelsior*, September 4, 1921.

⁴⁴ *Excelsior*, August 10 and August 14, 1921.

⁴⁵ *Excelsior*, October 18, 1921.

⁴⁶ *Excelsior*, December 7, 1921.

erty bonds in the market. García Cabral, cartoonist for *Excelsior*, had an interesting cartoon showing Uncle Sam and Mexico at a banker's window. Above the window appeared these signs: "Wall Street", "*Bonos de la Libertad*", "*Bonos Mexicanos*". This conversation followed:⁴⁷

Que anda haciendo por aquí, Chaparrito?
Lo que Usted, Mister, comprando bonos.

About the first of November, Secretary de la Huerta, in an interview, admitted and defended the practice of purchasing bonds in the market.⁴⁸ The procedure was condemned severely, however, by Carlos Díaz Dufoo in two articles in *Excelsior*.⁴⁹ He saw in it danger of serious damage to the credit of the Mexican Government. The purchase of five million dollars' worth of bonds monthly could not fail to have a profound effect on Mexico's credit situation. Had it been feasible to continue the purchases any length of time, it would clearly have reduced the foreign debt greatly, with considerable loss to United States owners of Mexican bonds, at least in anticipated profits. How much this conduct of the Mexican Government was instrumental in forcing a favorable settlement of the foreign debt, and how much that settlement was the result of other factors—whether the settlement would have been arranged at about the same time anyway—one can only surmise and speculate. It is at the very least a striking coincidence that brought United States bankers to Mexico City in November (1921) to discuss refunding the debt.⁵⁰ The Huerta-Lamont agreement came, as we noted, on June 16, 1922.

The agreement of September 3 (and following months) was, then, a compromise whereby the new export tax was to be paid in Mexican national bonds, received at par by the government. By this fiction the actual tax was reduced to about

⁴⁷ Issue of October 31, 1921.

⁴⁸ *Excelsior*, November 1, 1921.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, November 8 and November 29, 1921.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, November 4, 1921.

forty per cent of the nominal amount, since the bonds stood at about 40. Payment of the taxes was postponed until the Mexican Government, in coöperation with the petroleum producers, could make the necessary arrangements to secure the bonds, and then the decree of February 12, 1922, was issued. The irony of the situation lies in the fact that the Mexican Government, in order to break the United States financial boycott, maintained because the Mexican Government was not recognized, made use of United States capital, through American petroleum producers, to begin the purchase of Mexican bonds, and perhaps, in this manner, forced a settlement on favorable terms, not only of the tax controversy, but of the foreign debt as well. If this be true, and the evidence here produced makes it seem likely, it is a unique example of a Hispanic American government playing the United States *entrepreneurs* against United States capitalists, and playing the game to a successful conclusion. The concluding step came in the summer of 1922, when arrangements for refunding the Mexican debt were completed in New York, thus paving the way for the commission of 1923, and recognition of the Obregón government. After the debt had been refunded the final phase of the compromise was worked out in a reduction of the export tax to forty per cent of its original level.⁵¹

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⁵¹ The importance of the petroleum tax revenue during these years is shown by the following statistics:

Year	<i>De infalsificables</i>	Production Tax	Export Tax	Total of Three Taxes
1920	\$4,547,916	\$45,479,168		\$50,027,084
1921	4,809,991	50,604,049	\$12,280,910	67,694,950
1922		58,374,155	27,605,988	85,980,143
1923		42,152,722	18,382,916	60,535,639

Figures for the production tax and export tax are from *Mexican Year Book 1922-1924*, p. 276 ff. Bar duties are not included. The tax *de infalsificables* is from *Boletín de Petróleo*, XV. (1923), 339. The total revenue of the Mexican Government for 1921 was \$279,832,932; for 1922, \$477,567,019 (*Statesmen's Yearbook*, 1927).

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT RIO DE JANEIRO, 1906

I

The Second Conference had been adjourned only a short time before President Roosevelt began transmitting to congress his messages reporting the work of the conference. On April 22, 1902, he sent to both house and senate the report of the United States secretary of state and the accompanying papers respecting the resolution in regard to the Pan-American railway signed by the delegates at Mexico. At the same time he recommended an appropriation of \$20,000 to enable him to appoint two commissioners to visit Central and South America to report upon the means of extending the commerce of the United States to those regions.¹ On April 29, 1902, the

¹ *Congressional Record*, XXXV., pt. V, 57th cong., 1st sess., pp. 4520-4521, 4545. See also Sen. Doc. 314, 57th cong., 1st sess. In accordance with the recommendation, congress appropriated a sum of money, which was later added to by Mr. Carnegie, and provided for the appointment of a commissioner, namely, Mr. Charles M. Pepper (*Report of the Delegates of the U. S. to the Third International Conference of American States*, Washington, 1907, p. 165 [referred to hereafter as *Delegates' Rept.*]; *Cong. Rec.*, XXXVI., pt. II, p. 1976, pt. III, p. 2291; and Sen. Docs. 108 and 144, all from 57th cong., 2d sess.). In the spring of 1903, Mr. Pepper began his visit to the various American republics where he gathered information in regard to internal and external trade and helped to make better known the project of the international railroad to the people of the various countries. In 1904, he submitted a full report of his work to the president who transmitted it to congress. This was translated into Spanish by the Bureau of American Republics and printed in its monthly bulletin. See *Delegates' Rept.*, pp. 166-167; *Cong. Rec.*, XXXVIII., pt. IV, pp. 3279 and 3331; *ibid.*, XL., pt. I, p. 532, pt. X, p. 9087; Sen. Doc. 206, 58th cong., 2d sess., and 92, 59th cong., 1st sess. At a dinner given by Mr. Davis, chairman of the permanent railway commission in March, 1905, the diplomatic representatives reviewed the work of railway construction in their respective countries. At this time, Mr. Carnegie suggested that the United States appropriate \$100,000,000 and the Spanish American republics an equal sum for the construction of the road. During 1905 and 1906, the commission furnished the press and various periodicals with numerous articles

president transmitted to congress the report of the United States delegates to the conference.²

On December 10, 1902, the executive sent to congress a copy of the proceedings of the International Congress for the study of the production of coffee which had met in New York from October 1 to 31, 1902.³ On February 23, 1903, he transmitted the report of the transactions of the First International Sanitary Convention of the American Republics held in Washington from December 2 to 4, 1902.⁴ On February 25, 1903, the president furnished congress with the proceedings of the First Customs Congress of the American Republics held in New York from January 15 to 22, 1903.⁵

On February 25, 1903, it was proposed in congress that the United State appropriate \$71,000 as its share in the erection of a permanent structure for the Bureau of American Republics in Washington. It was also proposed that an additional

and communications in regard to the road, for the purpose of awakening interest in it. (See *Delegates' Rept.*, p. 166.) For documents relating to the Second Conference, and other conferences, see James Brown Scott, *The International Conferences of American States, 1889-1928* (Oxford University Press, 1931).

² *Cong. Rec.*, XXXV., pt. V, pp. 4800, 4841, 57th cong., 1st sess.

³ J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (1913 ed.), IX. 6771.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX. 6777; *Cong. Rec.*, XXXVI., pt. III, pp. 2501, 2523; and Sen. Doc. 169, 57th cong., 1st sess. On December 11, 1903, President Roosevelt asked congress for an appropriation for the share of the United States in maintaining the International Sanitary Bureau created by the Second International American Conference (Richardson, IX. 6897-6898). In 1904, a sanitary convention was signed at Rio de Janeiro (*Delegates' Rept.*, pp. 44, 167), and on October 14, 1905, a sanitary convention was signed at Washington by the representatives of the several American nations based upon that signed at Paris in December, 1903 (*Delegates' Rept.*, pp. 20, 44).

⁵ Richardson, IX. 6777. Thirteen countries were represented. The resolutions, reports, etc., of this meeting are given in Sen. Doc. 187, 57th cong., 2d sess. The Customs Congress provided that the Bureau of American Republics print in Spanish, Portuguese, and English a compilation of customs practises in each of the American countries. Only seven, however, of the thirteen countries represented furnished such information to the bureau (*Delegates' Rept.*, p. 43).

sum of \$50,000 be appropriated to acquire a site for such a building.⁶

Finally, on January 22, 1906, President Roosevelt endorsed a bill providing for the appropriation of \$100,000 to defray the expenses of the United States delegates to the Third International American Conference to be held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.⁷

II

The Second International American Conference provided that the Third Conference should

meet within five years in the place which the diplomatic representatives accredited by the American Republics at Washington, and the Secretary of State of America may designate for the purpose, and in ac-

⁶ *Cong. Rec.*, XXXVIII., pt. III, p. 2344, 58th cong., 2d sess. A sum of \$200,000 was appropriated by the United States congress (Sen. Doc. 365, 59th cong., 2d sess., p. 9). On January 5, 1903, the governing board of the bureau decided unanimously that a building should be erected for the bureau, and at a meeting of May 23, 1903, it was asserted that \$125,000 would be needed to purchase the land and erect the building. By the time of the meeting of the Third International American Conference, seventeen nations had expressed their intention to provide their share of the expense whenever needed (*Delegates' Rept.*, p. 139). See also the report of the director general of the Bureau of American Republics, dated June 30, 1904, in H. R. Doc., 145, 58th cong., 3d sess.

⁷ *Cong. Rec.*, XL., pt. IV, pp. 1371, 1404, 3101, 3325, 3426, 59th cong., 1st sess. At various times (January 19, May 18 and 31, 1906), resolutions were introduced into congress for the purpose of authorizing the president to instruct the delegates of the United States in regard to various matters (see *Cong. Rec.*, XL., pt. II, p. 1301, pt. VIII, pp. 7104, 7680, 59th cong., 1st sess.). For the action taken by the several Hispanic American nations by 1906, see the *Fifth Pan-American Conference, Special Handbook for the Use of the Delegates* (Washington, September, 1914), pp. 90-94; "The Pan-American Conferences and their Significance", in Supplement to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1906, p. 11; S. Baxter, "The Western World in Conference", in *Outlook*, September 15, 1906, p. 184. During the interim between the second and third conferences, several diplomatic crises occurred in inter-American relations which should be remembered as having some bearing on the views held by the Hispanic American states with regard to the United States and the Third Conference. Among these were the Venezuela episode of 1902, the revolution in Panama in 1903, the protocol for administration by the United States of Dominican finances of February, 1905, and the Mexican-United States peace mediation in Central America in 1906.

cordance with what at the meeting of the said representatives may be resolved, regarding the program and other necessary details, for all of which they are hereby expressly authorized by the present resolution. . . .⁸

On December 6, 1905, at the regular meeting of the Governing Board of the International Bureau of American Republics the subject of the Third Conference came up for discussion. The Mexican ambassador, Señor Joaquín D. Casasus, presented a proposition which provided that the next conference be held in Brazil in the year 1906, the exact date to be fixed by that government. He also suggested that three committees be appointed, one to prepare the program, the second to draw up the regulations of the conference, and the third to formulate a basic plan for the reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics. These suggestions were put into the form of a motion and adopted. Thereupon, the ambassador from Brazil, Senhor Joaquim Nabuco, in the name of his government, invited the board to provide for the meeting of the Third Conference at Rio de Janeiro between June 30 and July 14, 1906—the Brazilian winter. After some discussion the date was set as July 21, 1906.⁹

As a result of this meeting the committees were left in charge of preparations for the conference. Under date of March 28, 1906, the committee on program¹⁰ presented a confidential report consisting of views of the several countries of America suggesting the subjects which should be placed upon the program of the Third Conference.¹¹ Under date of April

⁸ *S. I. A. C. (Second International American Conference)*, pp. 291-293.

⁹ Sen. Doc. 365, 59th cong., 2d sess., pp. 29-30. See also, L. S. Rowe, "The Significance of the Third Pan-American Conference", in *Independent*, November 8, 1906, p. 1083. At the same meeting, the chairman of the board appointed the committees which had been provided for (Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 30-31). These committees were to report in February, 1906 (*ibid.*, appendix III).

¹⁰ This was made up of the diplomatic representatives from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Mexico.

¹¹ These suggestions had been solicited from the several countries before the program was prepared in order to obtain their respective views upon various mat-

21, 1906, the final program of the conference was drawn up. This contained fourteen sections dealing with the following subjects:

- I. Reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics.
- II. Adhesion of the American republics to the principle of arbitration of American disputes.
- III. The extension of the treaty of arbitration of pecuniary claims for five years.
- IV. The consideration by The Hague of the Drago and Calvo Doctrines with respect to collection of public debts.
- V. Formation of a commission of jurists to prepare codes of public and private international law.
- VI. Adoption of a convention regarding naturalization of aliens.
- VII. Development of commercial intercourse among the American States.
- VIII. Unification of customs regulations and consular laws.
- IX. Consideration of uniform patent and trademark legislation.
- X. Consideration of sanitary and police regulations.
- XI. Maintaining of the interest in the Pan-American railway.
- XII. Consideration of copyright laws.
- XIII. Consideration of legislation in regard to the practices of the learned professions.

ters for the purpose of preventing any such squabble as had taken place over the tentative program of the Second Conference. This was compiled by González de Quesado, secretary of the program committee and is to be found in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan-American Union under the title *Extracto de las Ideas de los distintos Países de América con Relación al Programa de la Tercera Conferencia Pan-Americana de Río de Janeiro, Confidencial, 1906*. Of the responses from the various governments, those in regard to views of arbitration were the most interesting in the light of what happened at the Second Conference. Uruguay desired to have the question of arbitration placed upon the program, as did Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and Panama—the last desiring arbitration without limitations. The United States desired arbitration as well as participation at The Hague. Mexico did not wish to raise a “sleeping question”. Chile thought that a discussion on arbitration was unnecessary, and Ecuador’s only answer was to adopt the attitude of Chile. Replies were received also as to views on claims, the Drago Doctrine, free navigation of rivers, international law, commercial relations, the Pan-American railway, patents and inventions, a Pan-American bank, and various other matters.

XIV. Provision for the holding of future conferences.¹²

Under date of April 26, 1906, the committee on regulations for the Third International American Conference reported.¹³ In the meantime, the Brazilian Government had sent out invitations to the several American States to meet at Rio de Janeiro on July 21, and the several countries began the important task of selecting their representatives.¹⁴

III

The United States delegation was an able one. The chairman was William I. Buchanan, a delegate to the Second Conference at Mexico. His colleagues were Dr. Leo S. Rowe, professor of political and social science at the University of Pennsylvania; Mr. A. J. Montague, ex-governor of Virginia; Mr. T. Larrinaga, resident commissioner from Porto Rico in the United States; Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, professor of political and social science at the University of Wisconsin; and Mr. Van Leer Polk, an ex-consul general. Mr. F. L. Joannini of the war department was sent as translator, and a commercial

¹² Sen. Doc. 365, 59th cong., 2d sess., pp. 31-33—(hereafter referred to as Sen. Doc. 365); and *Third International American Conference* (Rio de Janeiro, 1906—hereafter referred to as *T. I. A. C.*), pp. 5-9. At a meeting of the governing board of the Bureau of American Republics, held on April 4, 1906, an attempt was made to include in the program the discussion of the free navigation of rivers and the adoption of compulsory arbitration (*Bulletin of the Bureau of American Republics*, April, 1906, pp. 1017-1028). The program was accepted by all the American countries (Rowe, in *Independent*, *op. cit.*, p. 1083).

¹³ The members of this committee were the diplomatic representatives from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Peru (Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 30-31). For the regulations, see *ibid.*, pp. 33-37; and *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 11-21. The regulations provided that the period of the conference should not exceed six weeks (see also Paul S. Reinsch, "Third International Conference of American States", in *American Political Science Review*, February, 1907, p. 887).

¹⁴ Sen. Doc. 365, p. 31. The United States was invited under date of April 25, 1906, and accepted under date of April 28 (*ibid.*). All the American republics attended the conference except Haiti and Venezuela: the former because of the expense to send delegates so far, and the latter because it feared lest "the United States would force the congress to adopt a principle which might weaken the value of its 'splendid isolation'" (*Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 1906).

attaché, Mr. N. I. Stone, was selected from the department of commerce and labor. The International Bureau of American Republics was represented by the director-general, Mr. William C. Fox.¹⁵

A writer in the *Outlook*, who knew many members of the various delegations personally, in commenting upon these men, tried to refute the opinion in certain parts of the country that the United States representatives were less strong than those from Hispanic America. In doing so he reached the conclusion that they were more able than those whom the United States had sent to the Mexican Conference.¹⁶

The delegates went to the conference

with a clear conception of what the interests of their own nation demanded, yet with as definite a purpose merely to defend these interests if necessary, but in every other respect to give an impartial hearing to whatever might be proposed by other delegations, to claim no hegemony for the United States but simply to assist in arriving at a basis for common understanding. . . . There was absolutely no inclination to strive for an influence greater than would be freely accorded by the other governments as a natural result of the situation.¹⁷

The Hispanic American States appointed several diplomats, statesmen, and literary men. Argentina sent Sr. Gonzales, the president of the University of La Plata, and two professors from the University of Buenos Aires, Sr. Bidau and Sr. Terry.¹⁸ Brazil sent its minister to the United States, Sr. Nabuco, its minister to Argentina, Sr. Brasil, and its minister to Mexico, Sr. Ferreira.¹⁹ Chile sent four experienced diplomats. Costa Rica appointed its ex-president, Sr. Es-

¹⁵ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 50, 54.

¹⁶ S. Baxter, "The Western World in Conference", in *Outlook*, September 15, 1906, p. 180. See *Speech of Hon. John W. Daniel of Virginia in the Senate of the United States on Wednesday April 4, 1906* (Washington, D. C., 1906) for a plea that the south should be represented at the conference by at least one delegate.

¹⁷ Reinsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.

¹⁸ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 51-52.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

quivel.²⁰ Mexico sent among others a delegate to the Second Conference, Sr. de la Barra.²¹ Paraguay sent two ex-ministers of foreign relations, Sr. Cardus y Huerta, and Sr. Decoud,²² and Salvador sent the ex-minister, Sr. Reyes. Haiti and Venezuela did not send delegates and were not represented.²³

As in the case of the Second Conference, the United States delegates were well instructed as to what their attitude and action should be with respect to certain questions. The instructions were issued under date of June 18, 1906, through the department of state and signed by Elihu Root. It was asserted that the instructions given to the United States delegates at the Second Conference would hold good in this case unless it be in some minor matters relating to the details of the Conference and no longer applicable.

It was further stated that

It is important that you should keep in mind and, as occasion serves, impress upon your colleagues that such a Conference is not an agency for compulsion or a tribunal for adjudication; it is not designed to compel States to make treaties or to observe treaties; it should not sit in judgment upon the conduct of any State, or undertake to redress alleged wrongs, or to settle controverted questions of right. A successful attempt to give such a character to the Conference would necessarily be fatal to the Conference itself, for few, if any, of the States represented in it would be willing to submit their sovereignty to the supervision which would be exercised by a body thus arrogating to itself supreme and indefinite powers. The true function of such a Conference is to deal with matters of common interest which are not really subjects of controversy, but upon which

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 54. Mr. S. Baxter was a special commissioner for the *Outlook* and he wrote and published a series of articles entitled "The Western World in Conference", which appeared in that periodical on July 21, and September 8, 15, and 22, 1906. He comments interestingly on the comparative abilities of the members of the several delegations (*Outlook*, September 22, 1906, p. 180).

comparison of views and friendly discussion may smooth away differences of detail, develop substantial agreement and lead coöperation along common lines for the attainment of objects which all desire.

It follows from this view of the functions of the Conference that it is not expected to accomplish any striking or spectacular final results; but is to deal with matters which, not being subjects of controversy, attract little public attention, yet which, taken together, are of great importance for the development of friendly intercourse among nations; and it is to make such progress as may now be possible toward the acceptance of ideals the full realization of which may be postponed to a distant future. All progress toward the complete reign of justice and peace among nations is accomplished by long and patient effort and by many successive steps; and it is confidently hoped that this Conference will mark some substantial advancement by all the American States in this process of developing a Christian Civilization.

Not the least of the benefits anticipated from the Conference will be the establishment of agreeable personal relations, the removal of misconceptions and prejudices, and the habit of temperate and kindly discussion among the representatives of so many Republics.

The instructions then considered separately the several questions of the program making similar suggestions as for the Second Conference and concluded:

It is hoped that the experience of the Third American Conference will be such as to increase the mutual respect and esteem of all the delegates; to decrease misconceptions and misunderstandings which are the chief cause of controversy among nations; to draw the attention of all the countries to their common interests and sympathies and to the matter in which they can be helpful to each other rather than to their differences and causes of controversy; and that the Conference will conclude with such an estimate of its usefulness on the part of its members as to justify them in providing for the establishment of regular conferences at stated intervals hereafter.²⁴

²⁴ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 39-45. Most of the other American states also went to the conference under various instructions.

IV

With such official views impressed on their minds the United States delegation proceeded to the Brazilian capital where at eight o'clock on the evening of July 23, 1906, occurred the opening session²⁵ of the Third International American Conference.²⁶ Delegates from eighteen countries were

²⁵ The conference was opened in reality on July 21, as had been intended, but it was decided to postpone the meetings until the 23d, as the United States delegates and some others, who had left the United States on July 2 on the ship *Bryan*, did not reach Rio de Janeiro as early as they had expected (*New York Tribune*, July 1, 2, 1906). Secretary of State Elihu Root left New York, July 4, 1906, on the steamer *Charleston* for Rio de Janeiro (*ibid.*, July 1, 1906). For an excellent account of the voyage of the delegates see S. Baxter in the *Outlook*, September 8, 1906, pp. 69-73.

Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 3-4, thus describes the conference: "The sessions of the Conference were held in a spacious and ornate building, erected especially for the purpose by the Brazilian government, and situated on the superb new boulevard that for nearly four miles follows the shore of the Bay of Rio, and at the end of the New Avenida Central. The building is a permanent one, reproduced in granite and marble from the plans of the palace erected by Brazil at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at Saint Louis. It is surrounded by an exquisite garden, and facing so as to have the entrance to the wonderful Bay of Rio. The building is a notable landmark. It was christened 'The Monroe Palace' by special action of the Brazilian government. The Brazilian government installed in the palace a complete telegraph, mail and telephone service, and telegrams, cables and mail of the different delegations and of individual delegates were transmitted free. [The governments of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay also gave free use of their respective lines.] In connection with the work of the Conference the Brazilian government organized and maintained at its expense an extensive and competent corps of translators, stenographers and clerical assistants, whose services were at all times at the command of the delegates. A buffet lunch, for the convenience and comfort of the delegates and their guests, was maintained in the palace throughout the period of the Conference. The palace was elaborately lighted and was the center of attraction day and night for great crowds of people". In the evenings the searchlights from a Brazilian warship in the harbor illuminated the outside of the palace. (For further descriptions see *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1906, p. 2, and S. Baxter, in the *Outlook*, September 22, 1906, pp. 173-178, *passim*.)

²⁶ See "Roosevelt, Root and Rio", in *The Eclectic Magazine*, July, 1906, pp. 1-9, for comments on the opening of the conference. This writer asserts that "a new chapter of international politics" would be opened with the beginning of the conference. Sessions were held on the following days of July 23, 24, 26, and 31, and August 4, 7, 9, 13, 16, 21, 22, 23 (two sessions), 26, and 27, 1906 (see *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 52-409, *passim*).

present,²⁷ as well as a large and distinguished audience. The temporary president of the conference, Baron do Rio Branco, Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, opened the meeting with a prepared address:

. . . Our hopes are that from this Third Conference may result, confirmed and defined by practical acts and measures of common interest, the auspicious assurance that the times of true international fraternity are not far distant. . . .

. . . The meeting of this Conference may perhaps give rise to the suspicion that we are forming an international league against interests not represented here. It is, therefore, necessary to affirm that, formally or implicitly, all interests will be respected by us, that in the discussion of political and commercial subjects, submitted for the consideration of the Conference, it is not our intention to work against anybody, and that our sole aim is to bring about a closer union among American nations, to provide for their well-being and rapid progress; and the accomplishment of these objects can only be of advantage to Europe and to the rest of the world.

As young nations still, we should not forget what we owe to those who have furnished the capital with which we entered the world of competition. . . . From Europe we came, Europe has been our teacher, from her we receive continually support and example . . . and the most profitable lessons of progress. What, in exchange for this moral and maternal gift, we can give her, by our growth and prosperity, will certainly constitute a more important field for the employment of her commercial and industrial activities. . . .²⁸

With his concluding words, the conference was declared opened. Thereupon Señor Ascención Esquivel, delegate from Costa Rica, arose and replied to the preceding address:

. . . The history of the Pan-American Conferences has always shown that their deliberations are carried on in a spirit of justice and of enlightened patriotism. Altho the work accomplished by them is without doubt slow, and the ideals which they have ever kept before

²⁷ The delegate from the Dominican Republic arrived late (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 35-36).

²⁸ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 55-56; *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 36-40.

them have not, as yet, been realized, still it is impossible to refrain from applauding sincerely the efforts which the two former Conferences have made to bring about the establishment of peace on a firm basis and the development of all those interests which may contribute to the welfare of all the republics of the continent. . . . The task will be continued by the present Conference. . . .²⁹

After this short address, the conference proceeded to elect by ballot a permanent president. By a vote of seventeen to one, Senhor Joaquim Nabuco de Oraujo, Brazilian ambassador to the United States, was chosen for this office whereupon he addressed the delegates, saying in part:

The aim of the American Conferences was intended to be the creation of an American opinion, of an American public spirit, and it is very difficult to know how they should work to obtain this aim.

Senhor Nabuco firmly believed that these conferences ought never to aim

at forcing the opinion of a single one of the nations taking part in them; that in no case shall they intervene collectively in the affairs or interests that the various nations may wish to reserve for their own exclusive deliberation. To us it seems that the great object of these Conferences should be to express collectively what is already understood to be unanimous, to unite in the interval between one and another what may have already completely ripened in the opinion of the continent, and to impart to it the power resulting from an accord amongst all American nations. . . .

It is not a small undertaking, neither is it a slight effort, to unify the civilization of the whole American continent. This will constitute one day their glory, but it is a work which requires much prudence on the part of, and amongst the nations which shall successively have the honor of extending their hospitality to the Conference. There should exist only the desire to avoid anything that might draw us apart, to promote everything that may tend to bring us together.

It was through the force of American destiny, which remodels and recasts all the forms of action at its command, it was by an effort of

²⁹ Señor Esquivel reasserted the view that the conference was not in any manner aimed against Europe (Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 56-57; *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 40-42).

will and tenacity that the difficulties encountered at the First and Second Conferences were powerless to shake the resolution of the various states of this continent to continue to meet as before. . . .

Besides the direct and immediate effect which is aimed at, there is the much more general and indirect effect which results from our coming together, from our mutual acquaintance, from the spirit of concord and a union which our collaboration cannot fail to produce, from the desire to show to observers that we have no purpose whatever which might be looked upon with suspicion or distrust by the rest of the world. . . .³⁰

This address was followed by an expression of pleasure on the part of the delegates at the conclusion of peace between Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador brought about by the United States and Mexico.³¹ The conference was then adjourned to meet July 24 at ten o'clock in the morning.

This session was opened with a discussion of the admission of the press to the conference, and it was jointly agreed to follow the precedent of the Second Conference at Mexico and allow the press to attend the meetings, except when secret resolutions were to be taken.³² The next step was the election of Baron do Rio-Branco, the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, and Elihu Root, United States secretary of state, as honorary presidents of the conference,³³ and a resolution was passed setting aside a special session at which to honor the latter. The delegates then drew lots for the purpose of deter-

³⁰ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 57-58; *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 43-45.

³¹ A motion thanking these two governments for their mediation in Central America was passed. This had to do with the peace agreement signed on board the *Marblehead* (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 46-47).

³² See *T. I. A. C.*, p. 53; Reinsch, op. cit., p. 196. Dr. Reinsch stated that under the rules the conference was to be secret, but representatives of the press and others were admitted by common consent. However, as all the real business of the conference was done in committee, "the spirit of the rules was adhered to after all".

³³ *T. I. A. C.*, p. 54. This act was followed by a memorial resolution to those members of former Pan-American conferences who had died (*ibid.*, pp. 55-57). Also, the names of other illustrious men of America were honored (*ibid.*, pp. 58-64).

mining the order of procedure in succeeding one another in the chair.³⁴ Following this, three committees were selected upon which each nation had a representative.³⁵ After a brief discussion the meeting adjourned.

The next session was held on July 26, and was taken up with preliminary routine matters and the election of the remaining eight committees.³⁶

On July 31, at nine-thirty o'clock in the evening the fourth session was held, which was in honor of the secretary of state of the United States, and the honorary president of the con-

³⁴ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 66-67. This resulted as follows: Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Panama, Cuba, San Domingo, Peru, Salvador, Costa Rica, Mexico, Guatemala, Uruguay, Argentina, Nicaragua, Brazil, United States, Chile (*ibid.*, p. 67). The list reported in the *Bulletin* of the American Republics for August, 1906, p. 422, differed somewhat from the above.

³⁵ The remaining committees were selected at the third meeting on July 26 (Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 58-60; and *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 68-69). The work of the conference was carried on almost entirely by the several committees. The "discussion on almost all program topics was, by agreement among the delegates, confined to the committee rooms, and while this fact no doubt took from the open sessions of the conference a certain public interest, the unanimous report of the different committees brought about through this method was more gratifying and furnished the best possible evidence of the wisdom of the course followed. This was especially true with regard to the subjects of arbitration and the collection of public debts by force" (Sen. Doc. 365, p. 5). As may be seen, the question of organization of the conference was a comparatively easy one. All but three committees chosen were selected by the president of the conference. It was discovered by the United States delegates that the president had intended to place as chairman of these committees the several representatives from the United States. But "the members of the American delegation were unanimously of the opinion that any such arrangement would be a serious mistake, as it would give to the United States a position of undue prominence at the conference. The matter was finally arranged by assigning two chairmanships to the American delegation, that on 'international arbitration' and on 'Future Conferences'. By thus avoiding an unduly prominent position at the conference the influence of the America delegation was greatly strengthened". (From *Fourth International Conference of American Republics, Buenos Aires, July 1910*—a memorandum for the use of the delegates from the United States in the form of a typewritten manuscript in the Columbus Memorial Library, Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C.)

³⁶ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 73-84.

ference, Elihu Root.⁸⁷ The president, Senhor Nabuco, opened the meeting with a short address of welcome which was an eulogy to Secretary Root and to the United States.⁸⁸ The address of Mr. Root followed.⁸⁹ He brought greetings from the United States, discussed the modern trend of civilization in America, and the conditions as they then existed.

It is not by national isolation that these results have been accomplished, or that this progress can be continued. No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of

⁸⁷ At the session of July 24, 1906, the Mexican delegation had introduced a resolution for the purpose of naming a date for a special session to be held in honor of Secretary Root and for issuing an invitation to him, to attend (*T. I. A. C.*, p. 64). The meeting was called so late in the evening in order that a torch-light procession might be arranged (*ibid.*). For an excellent description of how Secretary Root was received at Rio de Janeiro and at São Paulo see *Foreign Relations* for 1906, I. 124-126. Mr. Root arrived in Rio harbor about 7 A. M., July 27, 1906. At 9:30 A.M. the United States ambassador to Brazil, Mr. Griscom, and the Brazilian ambassador to the United States, Senhor Nabuco, went on board Mr. Root's ship, the *Charleston*, and brought the secretary to land upon the royal barge of João VI. rowed by 30 oars. The air was filled with the thunder of salutes from Brazilian, Argentine, and German battleships in the harbor and the whistles of tugs and launches which surrounded the *Charleston*. Upon landing, the Brazilian foreign minister, Senhor Rio-Branco, welcomed him under a floral arch amid the cheers of thousands of troops and civilians. The secretary then journeyed in a procession of carriages with a military escort along the Avenida Central which was beautifully decorated with flowers kept perpetually renewed and fresh. The procession went to the palace where the secretary was greeted by students and citizens. At 3 P.M. he visited President Alves of Brazil. (See *New York Tribune*, July 28, 1906, p. 6, and S. Baxter in *Outlook*, September 22, 1906, pp. 184-185.)

⁸⁸ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 86-88. The United States delegates, in their report of the conference, asserted that "the reception accorded the Secretary of State by the conference was one of the most notable political events that has taken place in our relations with Central and South America and manifested a feeling of good-fellowship and sympathy that exists between the American Republics" (Sen. Doc. 365, p. 234).

⁸⁹ Secretary Root, at a reception in his honor, on July 28, 1906, stated his aim in coming to South America: "You speak of me as the interpreter of a policy. My visit here is for the interpretation of the policy of my country. That is why I am here." (*New York Tribune*, July 29, 1906.)

the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men; intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of other judgments, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community, the desire for whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—there are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

To promote this mutual interchange and assistance between the American Republics, engaged in the same great task, inspired by the same purpose, and professing the same principles, I understand to be the functions of the American Conference now in session. There is not one of all our countries that cannot receive benefit from the others; there is not one that will not gain by the prosperity, the peace, the happiness of all. . . .

The association of so many eminent men from all the Republics, leaders of opinions in their own homes, the friendship that will arise among you, the habit of temperate and kindly discussion of matters of common interests, the ascertaining of common sympathies and aims, the dissipation of misunderstandings, the exhibition to all the American peoples of this powerful and considerate method of conferring upon international questions, this alone, quite irrespective of the resolutions you may adopt, and the conventions you may sign, will make a substantial advance in the direction of international good understanding.

These beneficent results the government and the people of the United States of America generally desire. We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guarantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American

Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this, is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Within a few months, for the first time, the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American Continents can be, and I hope will be, represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign States in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American Continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate.

Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the Liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of Justice and Peace. Let us unite in creating, and maintaining, and making effective an All-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts and happiness for us all.

Not in a single Conference, nor by a single effort, can very much be done. You labor more for the future than for the present; but if the right impulse be given, if the right tendency be established, the work you do here will go on among all the millions of people in the American Continent long after your final adjournment, long after your lives, with incalculable benefits to all our beloved countries, which may it please God to continue free and independent and happy for ages to come.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 88-94; Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 61-65. For this address and others made by the secretary of state while in South America, see Elihu Root, *Speeches incident to the Visit of Secretary Root to South America* (Washington, Government Print. Off., 1906). For the effect of the secretary's address upon his hearers, see S. Baxter in *Outlook*, September 22, 1906, pp. 187-188. Secretary Root was lavishly entertained while in Rio de Janeiro, as well as in all the places he

The delegate from Peru, Señor Cornejo, made a short reply to the words of Secretary Root saying:

Mr. Minister: Your country radiates heat and light over all the people of the Continent, which, in their turn, advancing at different rates of velocity, but in the same direction, along the line of progress, form in the landscape of American History, the beautiful perspective of the future, widening the vision to a horizon where the real and the ideal mingle, and in the blue field of which the great nationality that fills all the present, stands out in bold relief.

The Congresses, gentlemen, are the symbol of that solidarity which, notwithstanding the ephemeral passions of men, constitute, by the invincible force of things the essence of our continental system, they were conceived by the organizing genius of the statesmen of Washington in order that the patriotism might be exalted by American sentiment, freeing it from that national egotism which might have been explained in the difficult moments of the formation of States, but which would today be an impediment to the development of the American idea, destined to demonstrate that just as the democratic principle has been able to combine liberty and order in the constitution of States, it will likewise combine the autonomy of the nations and fraternity in the relations of people.

Mr. Minister, your visit has given an impulse to this undertaking. The ideas you are sowing have not only defined the interests, but have also stirred in the soul of America, all her memories, all her dreams and all her ideals. . . .⁴¹

After a few more words on the part of various delegates⁴² the honorary president of the conference, Baron do Rio-Branco, announced that the building in which the conference was held would hereafter be known as the "Monroe Palace". The meeting was then adjourned.⁴³

visited in South America on his speaking tour (see *Chicago Tribune*, August 2, 1906, p. 1; *New York Tribune*, August 4, 1906, p. 6; and *Harpers Weekly*, August 25, 1906).

⁴¹ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 94-96.

⁴² Similar expression was made by a delegate from Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 96). This was followed by a few words of appreciation of the honor bestowed upon the United States by Mr. Montague, one of the United States delegates (*ibid.*, pp. 96-97).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

V

In view of the fact of such an occurrence as the visit of a secretary of state of the United States to a Pan-American meeting it may be well to pause and note some of the comment made upon the occasion.

The United States delegates in their report of the conference to their government asserted:

We believe the visit of the Secretary of State to South America has resulted in greater good to our relation with Central and South America than any one thing that has heretofore taken place in our diplomatic history.⁴⁴

The New York *Tribune* believed that if the secretary accomplished nothing more than investing the conference, "with additional dignity and authority in the eyes of the world" his visit would be a success.⁴⁵ The Chicago *Tribune* asserted that the results which might be derived from Secretary Root's visit would be "simply boundless".⁴⁶ The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* affirmed that one of the results of the visit of Mr. Root would be the strengthening of commercial relations between the United States and South America.

We can feel confident that he will find exactly where the trouble lies and what should be done by us, and he will be in a position to do it.⁴⁷

The Philadelphia *Inquirer* held a similar view saying that the secretary was the "advance agent of American interstate commercial relations".⁴⁸ This view also was held by the Philadelphia *Ledger* and the Indianapolis *Star*.⁴⁹ A writer

⁴⁴ Sen. Doc. 365, p. 234. Similar views were held by the Pittsburgh *Dispatch* and Providence *Journal* (see *Literary Digest*, July 14, 1906, p. 39).

⁴⁵ New York *Tribune*, July 4, 1906, p. 6. The *Tribune* also felt that Mr. Root would increase "South American confidence in, and affection towards the United States".

⁴⁶ Chicago *Tribune*, July 6, 1906, p. 6.

⁴⁷ New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, July 12, 1906, p. 6.

⁴⁸ *Literary Digest*, July 14, 1906, p. 37.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1906, p. 37, and August 18, p. 203.

in *Independent* named three objects of the visit of the secretary of state to South America:

First, the official allaying of all fears and suspicions by a frank and open disavowal of imperialism; second, the winning of popular sympathy and coöperation through personal contact; third, the gaining of knowledge at first hand of the advancement, progress and aspirations of a score of sister republics whose ideals, and the obstacles to their attainment, are much the same as confronted our own country half a century ago.⁵⁰

Harper's Weekly saw in Mr. Root's visit to South America a spectacular episode which might be used in a campaign of the secretary for the presidency of the United States. He also may have had as an aim the removal of the suspicions toward the United States caused by the war with Spain.⁵¹

Charles M. Pepper, a delegate to the Second Conference and a member of the Pan-American Railway Commission, asserted that the presence of Mr. Root in South America,

will enable him to remove many of the causes of distrust that now exist, and to clean away misconceptions that from time to time arise through ignorance of the aim and policies of the United States, and will then lay the foundation for the commercial and financial expansion of which this country is at the threshold.

Incidentally his visit would also increase interest and knowledge in South America on the part of people in the United States, Mr. Pepper added.⁵² The New York *Nation* saw the possibility of Secretary Root increasing the good will of the South Americans toward the United States.⁵³ Dr. Leo S.

⁵⁰ G. A. Chamberlain, "Mr. Root's visit to South American", in *Independent*, September 20, 1906, p. 658. The writer was formerly United States vice-consul at Rio de Janeiro and at the time was consul at Pernambuco.

⁵¹ *Harper's Weekly*, July 21, and August 18, 1906.

⁵² C. M. Pepper, "The Pan-American Conference at Rio", in *American Review of Reviews*, June 1906, pp. 693-694.

⁵³ New York *Nation*, July 26, 1906. The Chicago *Tribune* held a similar view in an editorial of August 2, 1906, p. 6.

Rowe, a delegate to the conference, saw in the secretary's visit a great and immediate good.

The high sense of public responsibility which pervaded his message, impressed itself in every delegate, and paved the way for agreement on all questions of the program.⁵⁴

In speaking of the address of the secretary at Rio de Janeiro the San Francisco *Chronicle* believed it "graceful" but added that the secretary did not go far enough.⁵⁵ The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* called the address "quite the clearest statement yet made of the American problem".⁵⁶ The New York *Nation* in an issue of August 9, 1906, called the secretary's speech a "foot-note to the Monroe Doctrine".⁵⁷ The Baltimore *American* asserted that Mr. Root's address "was in keeping with the dignity and honor that pervaded the Conference". Its "studied calm, moderation, and restraint", affirmed the Philadelphia *Press*, "expresses the national policy of the United States", and will dispel all ideas of a big stick policy. The New York *Evening Post* felt sure that Mr. Root could not have acquitted himself "with greater tact and frankness".⁵⁸ A writer in the *Outlook* characterized the address as "breathing infinite sincerity in every tone, [and] in every word the firm assurance of honest friendship".⁵⁹ And finally President Roosevelt in his annual message, December 3, 1906, affirmed that the secretary's words,⁶⁰

appear to have been received with acclaim in every part of South America. They have my hearty approval, as I am sure they will have

⁵⁴ L. S. Rowe, in *Independent*, November 8, 1906, p. 1087.

⁵⁵ San Francisco *Chronicle*, August 3, 1906, p. 6.

⁵⁶ New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, August 3, 1906, p. 6.

⁵⁷ New York *Nation*, August 9, 1906. See this paper (August 23 and September 20, 1906) for rather caustic remarks on Root's address later at Buenos Aires and after his completion of the South American tour. On the whole there was great admiration for Mr. Root.

⁵⁸ *Literary Digest*, August 11, 1906, p. 172.

⁵⁹ S. Baxter in *Outlook*, September 22, 1906, p. 187.

⁶⁰ Especially the words "We wish for no victories but those of peace. . . ."

yours, and I cannot be wrong in the conviction that they correctly represent the sentiments of the whole American people.⁶¹

The views held in regard to Secretary Root's visit by various Hispanic Americans is worthy of note. In an interview recorded by the New York *Tribune*, Señor Calvo, minister of Costa Rica at Washington, said that the effect of Mr. Root's speech at the conference would be very great throughout Hispanic America for it would tend to remove the fear held by certain countries, and caused by articles in United States periodicals, as to the policy of the North America Republic toward the other states of the continent.

Mr. Root's forceful, clear statement of the policy of the government will quiet all uneasiness. . . . The speech was well timed. . . . Never has there been such an opportunity for the United States to set forth clearly its policy toward the Southern Republics.⁶²

Senhor Joaquim Nabuco, ambassador of Brazil to the United States, asserted that Secretary Root had not failed to create among the American States,

an impression of confidence likely to last long after his passage. He went to us animated with the spirit of Blaine yet speaking the lan-

⁶¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (1913 ed.) X. p. 7440. President Roosevelt in his annual message just referred to reviewed the antecedents of Mr. Root's visit saying that as soon as the plan became known to send the secretary to South America nearly all of the governments begged leave to entertain him. However, the secretary was only able to visit Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Panama, and Colombia. He was unable to visit Paraguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador because of the distance of their capitals from seaboard. The president stated that Secretary Root was sent to South America to dispel the idea that the United States was planning to establish a protectorate over South America. "The impression was so widespread that apparently it could not be reached by ordinary means" (Richardson, X. 7438-7439). John Barrett in an article entitled "The United States and Latin America" (*North American Review*, September 21, 1906) wrote (p. 474): "It can be said that nothing more salutary for the inauguration of a new era has happened than President Roosevelt's coup in sending Secretary Root to South America. Mr. Root has shown himself a great engineer of international comity and accord. . . ." Mr. Barrett was then United States minister to Colombia.

⁶² New York *Tribune*, August 3, 1906, p. 6.

guage of Marshall. His words were received everywhere as political oracles, studied as constitutional lessons on the nature and the working of the institutions we all copied from you.⁶³

A writer in the Mexican *Revista Positiva* affirmed that Secretary Root was

one of those agents in the development of mankind who arises from time to time in the realization of great and unperishable benefits for humanity.⁶⁴

The most extreme view held in South America, thought the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* was that of a certain journal in Brazil, which was inspired by German influence. This paper asserted that it was believed in parts of Brazil that Secretary Root "intends to make Brazil a Yankee colony".⁶⁵

Between these two extremes ranged most of the views held by the South American public. *El Imparcial* of Santiago, Chile, affirmed that Secretary Root's visit would be important only in so far as there results an American solidarity which will maintain peace in the western hemisphere.⁶⁶ Another Chilean paper, *El Chileno* of Santiago, was inclined to see a shadow behind the glamor of Secretary Root's visit. The moment that the North American influence

loses the serene and peaceful character which is represented in Mr. Root, it may be suddenly changed by an access of exaggerated imperialism into an actual menace.⁶⁷

In Europe divergent views were likewise held. The London *Times* asserted that Secretary Root's address at the conference

⁶³ Address delivered by Senhor Joaquim Nabuco, Ambassador from Brazil before the Liberal Club of Buffalo on February 20, 1907, n. p., n. d.

⁶⁴ Señor Alberto N. Frias in *Revista Positiva* cited in the *American Review of Reviews* for March, 1907, p. 362, in an article entitled "Some foreign views on the 'Pan-American Dream'".

⁶⁵ New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, August 5, 1906, p. 8.

⁶⁶ *Literary Digest*, September 29, 1906, p. 416.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

was an eloquent appeal for a policy of mutual aid by the American Republics, and at the same time an explanation of the ideals that have inspired the policy of his own country. . . . The undoubted success of Mr. Root's mission . . . is all the more remarkable because there was a certain conflict of policy between the United States and the South American Republics in the Congress.⁶⁸

The opposite view held in England was that of the *South American Journal*, London, which affirmed that Mr. Root's "honeyed words" were not successful in allaying the suspicions of the South Americans toward the United States.⁶⁹ In France, the *Paris Temps* believed that Hispanic America needed guarantees against the United States and this Mr. Root had supplied.⁷⁰ On the other hand *La Liberté* of Paris, saw in Mr. Root's visit an attempt on the part of the United States to separate Central and South America from European influence entirely and attach them to the great northern republic.⁷¹

VI

It is now necessary to turn to the remaining meetings of the conference and note the actual work accomplished. This consisted of three motions,⁷² fourteen resolutions, and four conventions.⁷³

⁶⁸ *London Times*, August 31, 1906, p. 7.

⁶⁹ *Literary Digest*, September 29, 1906, p. 416.

⁷⁰ *Paris Temps*, August 13, 1906.

⁷¹ *La Liberté*, August 1, 1906. This paper thought that the French journals were not devoting enough attention to Root's visit and it taunted one of the Paris papers for printing a notice of Root's speech "between the list of contestants in a recent swimming contest and the names of meritorious agriculturalists" (*ibid.*, August 1, 1906). The arguments of *La Liberté* were answered soon after by the *Ohio Sun* (Columbus), the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the *Providence Journal*, and the *Indianapolis Star* which considered the expression of fear that the United States intended to crowd out Europe from South America as one of "verbal paroxysms". (See *Literary Digest*, August 18, 1906, p. 203.)

⁷² The motions had to do with the expression of deep sorrow for the sufferers in the Chilean earthquake (adopted August 21 and August 23, 1906), and with the expression of appreciation to the United States and Mexico for establishing peace in Central America (adopted July 23, 1906). See Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 133-134.

⁷³ Sen. Doc. 365, p. 6; and *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 370-400, 414-647, *passim*.

On August 7, the delegates of all the countries represented signed a resolution

to ratify adherence to the principle of arbitration; and, to the end that so high a purpose may be rendered practicable, to recommend to the nations represented at this Conference that instructions be given to their delegates to the Second Conference to be held at The Hague, to endeavor to secure by the said Assembly . . . the celebration of a general arbitration Convention, so effective and definite that . . . it shall be accepted and put in force by every nation.⁷⁴

On the same day a resolution was adopted by all the delegates which provided for the reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics and the enlarging and improving of the scope of that institution.⁷⁵ On August 16, the conference

⁷⁴ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 9, 11, 95-98. The matter was discussed in the committee and signed August 7, 1906 (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 131-139). The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* expressed the view of the majority of United States papers when it said that the agreement "was a most happy one and . . . promises vast good . . ." (August 7, 1906, p. 6). This agreement was reached mainly because of the influence of the United States. ". . . Some of the Latin American Republics wanted to lay down a universal arbitration law, which should be presented to the next Hague Conference as a sort of ultimatum for the whole American world. Here the United States risked unpopularity and distrust by urging a much more moderate resolution declaring the adherence of the American Republics to the principle of arbitration, and their support of any fitting proposal which might be made at The Hague for a universal arbitration agreement" (see London *Times*, August 31, 1906, p. 7). Bolivia and Peru desired to go further in the matter of arbitration than did the other countries. As a result of this a long discussion occurred in the committee. But the matter was happily decided without debate in the open conference and was finally adopted "amid applause", by the delegates (Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 9-10). Credit for bringing about such results was also due to Señor Ramírez of Uruguay and Señor Lanuza of Cuba, both members of the committee (*ibid.*, p. 11).

⁷⁵ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 6-9, 99-107, 135-138. The subject was discussed in the committee, and considered by the conference at its sessions of August 4 and 7, when it was signed (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 125-136). The session of August 13 was taken up in the discussion of the duties, etc., of the governing board of the Bureau of American Republics and it was agreed to recommend to the American governments the appointment of a permanent standing committee responsible to the minister of foreign affairs of the respective states, and composed, if possible of former delegates to Pan-American conferences. These bodies were to see that their several governments approved the acts of the international American conferences and to keep the Bureau of American Republics furnished with

adopted a resolution on commerce, customs, and commercial statistics which aimed to create a special section in the Bureau of American Republics for the purpose of standardizing and making uniform legislation on such matters.⁷⁶ On August 22, a resolution in regard to the practice of learned professions was adopted by all the delegates. This was in substance the same as the one adopted by the Second Conference at Mexico.⁷⁷ The same day also all of the delegates signed an agreement, dealing with the collection of public debts, in which it was recommended that the Second Hague Conference consider the question of compulsory collection of debts.⁷⁸ This had to do with the Calvo and Drago doctrines and gave rise to a great deal of public discussion.⁷⁹

all information needed. This was embodied in a resolution as was also the agreement which provided for a building for the Bureau at Washington. (See Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 9, 108-109, 110-112, and 139; *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 151-162.)

⁷⁶ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 16-19, 113-115, 151-154. The matter was discussed in the committee and signed by the conference without debate (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 198-201).

⁷⁷ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 22-23, 118-119. The subject was discussed mainly in the committee, but was considered by the conference on August 4 and 22 when it was adopted (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 101-103, 226-239).

⁷⁸ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 12-14, 116-117. The subject was discussed in the committee and to some extent at the session of August 22 when it was adopted (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 217-226).

⁷⁹ It should be noted that Señor Drago stated his ideas on the subject in a note of December 29, 1902—(*Foreign Relations*, 1903, p. 1)—in connection with the attempt of Germany, Italy, and England forcibly to collect debts from Venezuela. From that time on the general public used interchangeably the phrase "Calvo Doctrine" and "Drago Doctrine". The press of the United States was inclined generally to accept such doctrines and believed them steps in advance in the realm of international law. See New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, July 29, 1906, p. 8; *Harper's Weekly*, August 4, 1906; San Francisco *Chronicle*, July 24, 1906, p. 6; New York *Tribune*, July 30, 1906, p. 6; *Literary Digest*, August 18, 1906, p. 222. The latter periodical quotes other papers in favor of the doctrine, as, for example, the Baltimore *News* (*Lit. Dig.*, July 14, 1906), the Rochester *Democrat & Chronicle*, the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, and the Boston *Transcript* (*Lit. Dig.*, August 11, 1906). On the one hand some papers believed that Europe would not accept the doctrine such as, for example, the San Francisco *Chronicle* (August 16 and 28, 1906, and the Philadelphia *Enquirer* (quoted in the *Literary Digest*, August 11, 1906). On the other hand, the New York *Tribune* and others affirmed that the principle would be accepted readily by European states (August 31, 1906, p. 6).

On August 23, all the delegates signed a resolution providing for the meeting of a future conference at a time and place to be determined by the governing board of the Bureau of American Republics. The conference was to convene within five years and the governing board was to arrange all details and regulations including the program which was to be formed at least six months prior to the meetings of the conference.⁸⁰ Other important resolutions were adopted on the same day, as follows: A resolution in regard to sanitary police provided that the various countries adopt the sanitary convention of Washington, signed October 14, 1905, and that all of the republics attend the next sanitary conference at Mexico City to be held in December, 1907.⁸¹ Another resolution concerned the Pan-American railway and provided for the continuation of the permanent railway commission and the keeping alive of interest in the American States of projects for the construction of new lines.⁸² Another had to do with commercial relations and aimed to establish navigation lines connecting the American ports, to better inter-American railway and telegraph communication, and to free from duties, except for service rendered, all goods passing from one country into another.⁸³ Another provided for a study of the monetary

⁸⁰ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 23, 123-125. The subject was discussed and signed at the second session of the conference on August 23 (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 333-334). A sharp discussion arose privately in the committee as to whether the Fourth Conference should be held at Buenos Aires or Santiago. For that reason the matter was left to the governing board (Sen. Doc. 365, p. 23).

⁸¹ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 20-21, 129-130, 162-164. The subject was discussed at both sessions of August 23, 1906 (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 268-271, 335-336).

⁸² Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 21-22, 130-132, 165-174. This resolution was signed at the first session of August 23, 1906 (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 273-276). The Pan-American Railway project created a good deal of discussion in the United States. Some believed that it would be a great benefit (*New York Nation*, August 16, 1906) while others affirmed that it was impractical. (See *Literary Digest*, October 6, 1906, quoting articles by J. O. Kerbey in the *Railway Gazette* and *Collier's Weekly*.)

⁸³ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 16-19, 120-122, 151-154. The matter was discussed and adopted at the first session of August 23, 1906 (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 276-282). The United States delegates in their report to the secretary of state said, "The im-

systems of the several countries and the fluctuation of exchange in America. These facts were to be presented to the Fourth Conference.⁸⁴ A resolution dealing with the development of the natural resources of the American states charged the Bureau of American Republics with the compilation of statistics from the several countries, in order that the next conference might consider laws to regulate public concessions.⁸⁵ Finally, the conference adopted a resolution recommending to the American nations the holding of a coffee congress at São Paulo, Brazil, in order to adopt measures to relieve the crises in that industry.⁸⁶

On August 13, all the delegates signed a convention to extend the treaty on pecuniary claims—signed at the Second Conference at Mexico City, January 13, 1902—to December 31, 1912, in order that time might be given for the several governments to ratify the agreement.⁸⁷ On the same day, another convention was adopted by all the countries, except Guatemala, establishing the status of naturalized citizens of all countries who might again take up residence in the country of their origin.⁸⁸

On August 23, the delegates signed a convention with a few modifications similar to that of the Second Conference

pression made upon us at Rio by the constant coming and going of the splendid passenger ships that ply between South Atlantic ports and those of England, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, compared with the meager service of practically two ships per month from the United States was unpleasant. It would appear to be manifest that some means must be found to overcome this striking disparity and to give our country and people better transportation facilities with South America, before we can reasonably expect to reap the advantageous development of our commerce there to which we are entitled" (Sen. Doc. 365, p. 26).

⁸⁴ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 132-133.

⁸⁵ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 17-18, 126-128. The subject was discussed on the day it was signed (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 336-337).

⁸⁶ Sen. Doc. 365, p. 132. This was adopted without discussion (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 337-340).

⁸⁷ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 11-12, 71-74. The subject was discussed only on the day it was signed (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 180-190).

⁸⁸ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 15, 67-70, 148-151. The agreement was adopted without discussion the day it was signed (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 172-180).

dealing with patents of inventions, drawings and industrial models, trademarks, and literary and artistic property.⁸⁹ A convention of equal date, relating to the codification of public and private international law, provided for the establishment of an international commission of jurists composed of representatives—one from each of the American states—which was to draft codes of public and private international law to be adopted by the American Republics. The commission was to meet first in Rio de Janeiro in 1907 and subsequent meetings were to follow. The results of the commission's work were to be presented to the several governments of America at least one year before the Fourth Conference, in order that they might be taken into consideration at that conference.⁹⁰

VII

On August 26, 1906, the next to the last session of this conference was held. The first part of the meeting was occupied with the discussion and approval of the minutes of the conference.⁹¹ After the conclusion of this business Senhor Nabuco, the president of the conference, addressed the delegates saying in part:

⁸⁹ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 20, 75-88, 154-162. The question was discussed on August 4 and adopted without discussion at the first session on August 23 (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 242-267).

⁹⁰ Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 14-15, 89-94, 139-148. The matter was discussed on August 4, 1906 and August 23 when it was signed (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 283-327). Note must be taken in passing of a recommendation submitted to the conference by Señor Romero of Bolivia, providing that the Third Conference recommend to the several governments "the necessity of strengthening the bonds of the international community of the States of this Continent, of constituting a concert of nations, a true state, tending to improve the relations between the American countries, and chiefly to seek a pacific settlement of conflicts". This was referred to the committee on continental welfare and was never heard from (*T. I. A. C.*, pp. 148-149). The question of its disposition, however, was discussed on August 26 (*ibid.*, pp. 343-348). For a highly technical discussion of the question of international law at the conference, see H. Taylor, "International Conference at Rio de Janeiro", in *American Law Review*, November-December 1906, pp. 896-907. An excellent summary of the work of the conference may be found in the *International Bureau of American Republics, Bulletin*, August 1906, pp. 417-428.

⁹¹ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 348-354. Several minor resolutions were also introduced and adopted.

Your reunion here will not have been sterile. The political observer who interprets events, by the same light as the future will throw upon them, will see in what you have done a great nursery of ideas and of creations, but he will see above all the manifestation of a new spirit, upon whose formation depended the real unity of these Congresses and the labors they have undertaken in the cause of American solidarity.

The general impression that we shall all take away with us is one of harmony, of the unanimity of sentiments which has always reigned among us. A few fears that preceded our meeting were dissipated by enchantment at its inception and thus we can see that they were mere *malentendus*. Our discussions have turned on the way or the means of attaining the desired end, and not on the end itself. Others were merely matters of form. In this sense it is possible to affirm that the spirit of this Third Conference⁹² is very promising so far as regards their development; because it does not betray any traces of mistrust or scepticism, so far as concerns the part they may be called upon to play in the union and the progress of our continent. This part is today undoubted. The institution has grown remarkably during this third phase. Its *raison d'être* remains henceforth settled for all the nations of our continent. No one of them will ever ask from it now

⁹² As to the spirit of the conference, the following opinions of two United States delegates may be cited: "None of the delegations represented at Rio pressed upon the other a positive or ambitious program. They were naturally receptive and all seemed to recognize that the function of the conference was not to force any policy of majority upon the non-concurrent members, but, by impartial discussion, to arrive at a basis of action upon which unanimity would be possible. The actual debate and discussions of the conference were, therefore, carried on entirely in committee, all differences of opinion were settled there and the conference received from its committees' reports carrying the unanimous endorsement of their members, which in turn were unanimously adopted by the conference itself". (P. S. Reinsch in *American Political Science Review*, February, 1907, pp. 195-196.) L. S. Rowe said (*Independent*, November 8, 1906, p. 1083): "It would be gross exaggeration to say that all distrust between the republics of the American Continent has disappeared, but it is true that a sincere effort was made by the delegation of every state to set aside all petty jealousies. There was a general determination not to permit local differences to jeopardize the work of the conference. The spirit of compromise, the desire to avoid questions that might arouse sensibilities and antagonisms contributed more than anything else to make the execution of the program of the conference relatively easy".

more than it can give, and all of them regard it with the same good will. . . .

President Nabuco then reviewed the labors of the conference and concluded :

The principal function of these Conferences will, for a long time yet, during all the periods of their acclimatization, be merely to meet periodically ; and the most favorable symptom of this acclimatization will be the good will and harmony which I pointed out. In that sense the Third Conference already gives proof of a much healthier growth ; it is, however, necessary to allow a growing time to the tree that has to live for centuries, nor should we expect it to yield shade before its roots have struck into the ground. At present it still depends on each one ; the time will come when all shall depend upon it. . . .⁹³

This address was followed by a brilliant response on the part of the delegate from Colombia, Señor Uribe y Uribe,⁹⁴ after which the general secretary of the conference expressed his gratitude for the coöperation of the delegates with him,⁹⁵ and the meeting was adjourned.

The closing session of the conference occurred on August 27, 1906, at nine o'clock in the evening, and was taken up mainly by the address of the Baron do Rio-Branco, Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, and honorary president of the conference. He said in part, after congratulating the conference on its labors :

It is a current notion, justified, perhaps by historical observation, that we, the Southerners,—as in Europe certain Latin people are called—nearly always forget to pass from the resolution to the concrete and efficacious action. In the present instance, however, the tradition of ardent and sonorous eloquence . . . has been put aside for the sober scrutiny of problems and the mode of their solution. . . .

. . . Regarding the nations of Europe, to whom we have been ever bound by so many moral ties, and so many economical interests, we

⁹³ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 354-360.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-368.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 368-370.

only desire to continue to offer them the same guarantee we have given them heretofore of our constant love for order and progress. . . .⁹⁶

This address was answered by the delegate from Uruguay, Señor Ramírez, who said in part:

. . . Men may disparage as much as they like the progress made heretofore, while the institution of the Pan-American Conference lives in an atmosphere of generous aspirations, worthy of the healthy hearts and lofty souls, it will be an agent of progress and a message of peace and fraternity between nations. . . .⁹⁷

At the conclusion of the address, the conference was adjourned *sine die*.⁹⁸

VIII

The Third International American Conference differed somewhat from the two preceding meetings. It was considered advisable at Rio not

to inaugurate sweeping policies or to attempt radical changes. The action of former Conferences had been more ambitious [but] the Third Conference confined itself rather to structural changes and to administrative arrangements, as well as to the improvement of conventions already existing.⁹⁹

Other differences between this conference and the previous ones were that the delegates were stronger, there was more harmony and mutual confidence, and the sessions were "free from intrigue, the clashing of interests, and antagonistic cliques so much in evidence", at the Second Conference in Mexico City.¹⁰⁰ Further comments were as follows:

The characteristic feature of the whole Conference was the absolute lack of discussion in open session, and the dispatch with which subjects were handled once the Conference was well under way.

⁹⁶ *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 402-406.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 406-409.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁹⁹ P. S. Reinsch in *American Political Science Review*, February, 1907, p. 188.

¹⁰⁰ S. Baxter in *Outlook*, September 22, 1906, p. 180.

On the whole the Third Pan-American Conference went through more solid work and in quicker time than the most hopeful expected. . . .¹⁰¹

For the most part, less attention was given to the Third Conference than to the second. This was partly true because there was less discussion over the arrangement of the program and practically no debate in the conference itself over the subjects threshed out in the committees.¹⁰² The greatest discussion, however, was aroused over the visit and speeches of Secretary of State Root which have already been noted. The New York *Nation* believed that the lack of general comment in regard to the assembly was due to the fact that the two previous conferences of American states had failed to fulfill the fears of Europe that a combination might be formed to oppose it.¹⁰³

In the United States many writers saw the importance of the Third Conference. One affirmed that "with the assembling of the delegates . . . at Rio de Janeiro . . . a new chapter of the international politics of this hemisphere will be opened".¹⁰⁴ Another asserted that the meeting "will prove to be one of the greatest international conferences of Modern History".¹⁰⁵ The New York *Tribune* did not go quite so far but called the conference "decidedly the most interesting international gathering of the year. . . ."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ G. A. Chamberlain, "The Pan-American Conference", in *Independent*, September 27, 1906, p. 734.

¹⁰² The discussion of the committee was never published nor, except in isolated cases, were minutes kept of the proceedings in the committee. Information from a conversation with the late Assistant-Director General of the Pan-American Union, Mr. Yáñez.

¹⁰³ New York *Nation*, July 26, 1906. Mr. Baxter (*Outlook*, September 22, 1906, p. 185) described the view of the average workingman in America towards the conference as follows: "So ye are going down to South Ameriky to help civilize the Dagoes!" remarked a deck hand to one of the passengers on the way down [to the conference]. "'Tis a tough job ye'll be after having, I think."

¹⁰⁴ F. Crane, "Roosevelt, Root and Rio", in *The Eclectic Magazine*, July 1906, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ H. Bolce in *Appleton's Magazine*, July 1906.

¹⁰⁶ New York *Tribune*, July 24, 1906, p. 6.

Mr. Root was a vigorous supporter of the conference as might be expected because of the fact that it afforded

the best means of breaking up the comparative isolation of this country from the other countries of America and establishing the rather exclusive relations that have existed between them and Europe.¹⁰⁷

President Roosevelt said:

Quite apart from the specific value of the conclusions reached by the Conference, the example of the representatives of all the American nations engaging in harmonious and kindly consideration and discussion of subjects of common interest is itself of great and substantial value for the promotion of reasonable and considerate treatment of all international questions.¹⁰⁸

Under date of January 10, 1907, the United States delegates reported to the secretary of state. They said in part:

. . . We believe that the meeting of such a Conference is alone of the widest value through the friendships formed and the opportunities these afford to gain a personal knowledge of the problems confronting countries other than our own.

It is our belief that the growth of tolerance, confidence, and broad unity of purpose between the American Republics that has its visual expression in the International Union of American Republics is largely due to the Conferences that have been held, and that these will be increased through the meeting of the Rio Conference and of those that will follow hereafter.¹⁰⁹

With regard to the attitude toward the conference of the other American countries, the *Literary Digest* remarked that The South Americans regard with a suspicious eye, to judge from the South American Press, the Rio de Janeiro Congress, and the idea of Pan-Americanism.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Elihu Root, "Reasons why the United States in particular should encourage the Pan-American Conference", in *National Geographic Magazine*, August 1906, pp. 479-480.

¹⁰⁸ Richardson, X. 7437-7438. This is from the annual message to congress, December 3, 1906.

¹⁰⁹ Sen. Doc. 365, p. 25.

¹¹⁰ *Literary Digest*, September 29, 1906, p. 416.

Certainly some papers took this view. *El Chileno* of Santiago, Chile, asserted that President Roosevelt called the conference solely in the interests of the United States for the purpose of making "South America for the North Americans".¹¹¹ And a Montevideo paper, *La Nación*, believed that Brazil and the United States would "get all the benefits; we come in for the embraces".¹¹² *Lei* of Santiago, Chile, affirmed:

We repeat in the most explicit terms that these Congresses have brought no promotion of mutual coöperation between the peoples of America; they have suggested no measure worth speaking of to the legislative bodies; they have done nothing to further the progress, prosperity or greatness of nations as they proposed to do. They have been nothing but cloud castles transformed into realities by the imagination of ardent and poetical minds, and crumbling into nothingness in the frosty air of nobility and experience.¹¹³

This hostility toward the conference led Brazilian papers to see a hostility toward Brazil.¹¹⁴

But such views of the conference were not held universally throughout Hispanic America. *La Discusión* of Havana, Cuba, believed that the meeting would have a "most important influence on the future of the nations situated in the Western Hemisphere".¹¹⁵ A writer in the Mexican *Revista Positiva* saw as a result of the conference a grouping of the American nations for the purpose of maintaining a balance of power.¹¹⁶

Europe had nothing to fear from the conferences, for Pan Americanism did not mean anti-European tendencies, asserted *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), and *El Chileno* (Santiago, Chile).¹¹⁷ The *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro asserted:

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² J. O. Chamberlain, "Mr. Root's visit to South America", *Independent*, September 20, 1906, p. 667.

¹¹³ *Literary Digest*, September 29, 1906, p. 416.

¹¹⁴ See *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, August 8, 1906.

¹¹⁵ *Literary Digest*, August 18, 1906, p. 222.

¹¹⁶ Señor Alberto N. Frias, cited in *Review of Reviews*, March 1907, p. 361.

¹¹⁷ *Literary Digest*, September 29, 1906, p. 416.

The assembling of an American Conference holds no snare for Europe nor is its sentiment of unity hostile to European progress and ideals. What America desires is equality by international law, and that sovereignty of the people should be as that of European nations. . . . It is a foregone conclusion that the Conference will proclaim no American rights opposed to European rights. . . .¹¹⁸

La Nación, of Buenos Aires said:

This question of our situation with respect to the United States is much misjudged in Europe, where it is believed we live in constant fear and anxiety by reason of United States intrigues and ambitions; where in reality such matters never enter our heads. . . .¹¹⁹

But certain Europeans still clung to this belief and the *Literary Digest* affirmed that

Some European papers are warning the Central and South American Republics against the "blandishments" of the United States in the present Pan-American Conference.¹²⁰

Various Europeans believed that it was useless for the United States to attempt, by means of Pan-American conferences, to draw Hispanic America closer politically and commercially.

. . . For a Pan American Congress to discuss gravely the future ambitions of the Old World makes one think of the ingenious knight of La Mancha starting out to make war on windmills.¹²¹

The *Novoe Vremya* of Saint Petersburg, Russia, saw an American peril to Europe because it believed the United States, through the conference, was trying to establish an hegemony in America.¹²² One European writer affirmed that

¹¹⁸ *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, December 11, 1905.

¹¹⁹ *Literary Digest*, August 18, 1906, p. 222.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* The Indianapolis *Star* remarked in regard to such beliefs, "All that the conference means is that the United States is coming into more active commercial competition with Europe than ever before, and that it stands Europe in hand to be enterprising and energetic if it would hold its own. Only that and nothing more". (*Ibid.*, p. 203.)

¹²¹ *Literary Digest*, September 1, 1906, p. 282; and *Journal des Débates* (Paris), cited in *Literary Digest*, September 1, 1906, pp. 1-2.

¹²² Cited in New York *Tribune*, August 9, 1906, p. 2.

on paper the conference seemed a great affair, but its work "in appearance very vast, is in reality mediocre", because the acts of the conference are not approved by the several states.¹²³ The *London Times* asserted that the conference WAS

... an occurrence which even dwellers in the Old World may be allowed to regard as of particular interest. The Americans delight in big things, and an impressiveness of this sort certainly belongs to a gathering of states estimated to represent one hundred and forty million people. The downright fashion in which democratic principles are applied to the procedure of the Conference is also striking.¹²⁴

And, finally, the *Journal de Geneve* (Geneva, Switzerland), remarked

We have had Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, Pan-Islamism, etc., and finally Pan-Americanism which for some time has been making more noise than all the other "Pans" put together.

It added, however, that there is little danger to be feared from America for the present, but a defensive league has been formed which may later become aggressive.¹²⁵

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¹²³ J. Basdevant, "La Conference de Rio de Janeiro, de 1906, et l'union internationale des republics Américaines", in *Revue Général de Droit international publique*, May-June 1908, p. 267.

¹²⁴ *London Times*, August 31, 1906, p. 7.

¹²⁵ Cited in *Review of Reviews*, March 1907, p. 360. Not all of the conference period was devoted to serious affairs. For the social aspects see *T. I. A. C.*, pp. 53-54, 404; Sen. Doc. 365, pp. 25, 100; and *New York Tribune*, August 17, 1906, p. 1.

DOCUMENTS

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GENERAL WILLIAM WINDER AND PRESIDENT MONROE WITH REFERENCE TO PROPOSALS MADE BY THE UNITED PROVINCES OF SOUTH AMERICA

The following letters, found among the papers of General William H. Winder in the possession of Johns Hopkins University, throw some additional light on the early relations of the United Provinces of South America with the United States and especially on the attitude of President Monroe, as expressed to a personal friend.

Juan Martín de Puerreydón was sent as delegate from San Luis to the congress of Tucumán, March 24, 1816. This congress elected him supreme director of the United Provinces of South America on May 3. One of the tasks which absorbed his attention was that of gaining for his country the recognition of the United States. Perhaps in the hope that they would prove helpful in securing recognition as well as in performing the commercial duties of the office, various citizens of the United States were invited to act as local agents of the United Provinces.¹ Among them was General Winder, then prominent both as a lawyer and as a politician in Baltimore, where his reputation had apparently suffered in no way from his unsuccessful career as a general in the War of 1812. His friendly association with Monroe had continued after the war and the latter's long letter in his crabbed handwriting and curious punctuation can justly be considered a confidential expression of his views to a friend rather than a document prepared for the public.

¹ The difficulties experienced by David De Forest, who accepted the position of agent at Georgetown, can be found in Manning's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, I. 82-85.

The sequel to the correspondence is to be found in Monroe's papers in the Library of Congress. They contain a letter from Winder dated July 23, 1818, in which he sent to the president a copy of his reply to the offer from the supreme director, and in the manuscript calendar of Monroe's papers which contains some of those still in private possession is this reference to the copy Winder enclosed, "Winder to Fagle, Gregorio, Buenos Ayres, June 5, 1818. Gives his reasons for declining the honor made thro' the Secretary of State of the United Provinces of South America from the supreme director for the office of agent for that country".

MARY M. KENWAY.

Baltimore, Maryland.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL WINDER TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Baltimore, May 3, 1818

Sir,

I have within a few days received a communication from the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of South America in which I am complimented with the Citizenship of those Provinces & with a request that I would if personal or political reasons did not forbid it accept the appointment of deputy or agent from that government to the United States.

These testimonies of respect from that government I understand proceed from the representations made of some services which I have professionally rendered to some of the citizens of that country & from information that I entertained sentiments friendly to the success of their struggle for Independence as was compatible with a liberal regard to our true and substantial interests.

The communication was as unexpected on my part as it was entirely unsought. I had therefore never thought upon the subject & am at a loss to decide what course it is expedient & proper for me to pursue on the occasion. I should never consent to accept any situation from any foreign government incompatible with my obligations & duties to my own and the only inducement which could lead me to listen to the proposal now made would be that I might render mutual

services to the two countries in a mode honourably to myself. It is to ascertain how far this is practicable that I have taken the liberty of making a disclosure of the circumstances to you and to solicit in return such suggestions as you should deem it proper to make on the subject.

If you perceive that I can take any step mutually beneficial to both countries and honourable to myself I shall be disposed to adopt it so far as a just regard to my private duties will permit. I am at this time much occupied in my professional duties in court and would not therefore make a visit to Washington without giving rise to speculations & conjectures inconsistent with my desire that in all my steps relative to this business I should be certain not to counteract the views & wishes of my own Government. If however you should be of opinion that a personal conference would be useful or desirable I will at the earliest possible moment accomodate myself to your suggestions in this respect.

Together with the communications to myself I received the Inclosed packet directed to you from the Supreme Director of the United Provinces. The purport of it is I presume to explain his views in relation to myself & I take the Liberty to inclose it to you the better to enable you to judge of the subject.

The President of the U States

FROM JAMES MONROE TO GENERAL WINDER

Washington, May 11, 1818

Dear Sir,

The pressure of business, with the departments, on my late return from a visit to my farm, in Loudon, Virga, prevented a cordial attention to your letter of the 3d. of this month.

The letter from the Supreme Director, at Buenos Ayres, announced, as you had supposed, your appointment as agent for that government. I can readily conceive how unexpected this measure was to you, & of the painful alternative to which it subjects you, whether in accepting or rejecting it. I will however most willingly communicate to you, & without reserve, my sentiments on the subject. As it respects this government, & your country, It cannot otherwise than be, as I presume, highly acceptable. I speak with certainty, as it relates to the Executive, and I have no doubt, as to the other branches, & the community generally. With you, we should communicate freely, on all subjects, interesting to both parties, well knowing, that you would

avail yourself, of every means, and of every opportunity afforded you, to improve them to the advantage of both. It seems probable also, that the trust in your hands, might be made very instrumental, to that result. I have no hesitation to state to you, that the sincere desire of this government, is, that the Spanish Colonies may achieve their independence, and that we shall promote it, by our councils, & interest, with other powers, where we have any, & by every honourable & impartial measure, which we can adopt, consistently, with our neutrality, & without compromising, the highest interests of our own country. I am satisfied that the true interest of the Colonies, consists, in leaving us perfectly free, to pursue, such course, in regard to them, as we think proper, & that on the ground of interest, there can be no disagreement much less collision between us. It is a miserably shortsighted, & contracted, policy, in those who represent the colonies, or patronize their interest, to pursue a different course, since its tendency is to deprive them of the friendship, of the only power on earth, sincerely friendly to them, & of the immense advantages, which they derive, by the supplies, which they receive from us, & from the countenance which we give them and for what purpose encounter this danger? Equally satisfied I am, that were we ever to engage in the war, in their favour, they would be losers by it. A person enjoying the confidence of both parties, taking an enlarged view of their interests, and imparting it, to the Colonies, making at the same time an unprejudiced & faithful report of occurrences here, might contribute much to preserve a good understanding between them, & thereby, promote, essentially, the welfare of both. These are some of the reasons in its favor. Against it, may be said, that you will commence your agency, under circumstances that may expose you to the distrust of the colonies, Being a native of this country, & having never visited them: that should indiscreet, and intemperate councils prevail there, and rash measures be proposed here, to which you did not assent, think of them as you might, all confidence in you might soon be lost, & you be displaced. There is another view of the subject, altogether of a personal nature. In becoming the agent of a foreign power, or people, you seem to estrange yourself, in a certain degree from your own country, & to give up, a portion, of your claim, to its confidence. This however would be less in the present case, than in any other, that can be imagined, for we all discriminate, in sentiment as well as in policy,

between an agency under the Spanish Colonies, and any European power. These are the reflections, which have occur'd to me, on the subject, and which I communicate most freely to you. If you accept, your acceptance will doubtless be soon known, indeed it is probably known, to other agents, from Buenos Ayres, that the offer has been made to you. I do not think that your visit here, can be any way material, or that it ought to be made, considering your present engagements, especially as we may communicate in confidence whatever we may respectively think on the subject.

With great respect and esteem,

I am dear sir yours

JAMES MONROE.

BOOK REVIEWS

Greater America: An Interpretation of Latin America in Relation to Anglo-Saxon America. By WALLACE THOMPSON. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1932. Pp. 275. Index. \$3.00.)

Mr. Thompson does not set out to give a review of political developments, detail international jealousies, or prove that Hispanic American states are culturally less developed or more developed than others in America. He prefers to discuss current developments, especially economic, which are bringing rapid changes into the economic and social life of the republics. Through long residence and travel in Hispanic America and editorial experience which has brought him into close contact with its affairs, he speaks with an unusual grasp of its endowments and limitations. His experience has left him an enthusiast with a keen appreciation of what has already been accomplished and with vision of what he believes the southern states will be able to do in the near future.

An analysis of the resources, human and material, of the various units is followed by an exposition of the changes which have come in them in the past generation owing to the introduction of better communications facilities and machine production. This is the most valuable portion of Mr. Thompson's volume.

A new economic, intellectual, and cultural outlook has been brought about by the shipping lines, modern port works, railways opening the interior, airplane communications reaching formerly inaccessible areas, improved mail services, and better telephone, telegraph, and radio systems. These have brought Hispanic America into contact with the outside world and especially into closer bonds with the northern states of the western hemisphere.

Mining resources have had their greatest development through the adaptation of modern machinery; and agricultural exploitation has been extended far beyond what would otherwise have been possible with the limited labor supply available. Even the great handicap under which Hispanic American states have heretofore labored, through lack of mechanical power resources, is to be overcome by de-

velopment of hydro-electric sites and petroleum resources. Thus there will be made possible a wide range of domestic manufactures which will strengthen the economic position of the republics and make it possible for them to raise the standard of life of their citizens.

The inflow of foreign capital and the negotiation of favorable trade agreements, especially with Canada and the United States, will still further improve their economic life. Political and social advance, it is frankly admitted, has lagged though the stronger states are already making progress toward democratic government. The type which will become prevalent, Mr. Thompson believes, will show greater similarity to that in the United States than to those in the Latin countries of Europe. The Indian portion of the local population will contribute as little to political advance in the future as it has in the past.

Mr. Thompson does not attempt detailed analyses of conditions in the countries southward. He presents rather the outstanding factors which he believes determine the course of national development. The generalizations made are frequently subject to reservations but avoid the error of taking isolated instances of weakness or strength as typical. The volume presents a general survey, the wholesome optimism of which stands in strong contrast to much of the current discussion of Hispanic American affairs.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

Bolívar Conductor de Tropas. By ELEAZAR LÓPEZ CONTRERAS, General de Brigada. (Caracas: Editorial "Elite" Lit. y. Tip. Vargas 1930. Pp. 215.)

The recent centennial of the death of Bolívar served as an excuse for authors and publishers in South and North America to send forth a stream of lives of the Liberator—some superfluous and others poor or indifferent. Many of them, especially those written in English, were mere popular biographies which were too superficial to accomplish any better purpose than that of rendering familiar to the ears of English speaking people the name of the hero of the independence of northern South America.

General López Contreras, however, has made no appeal to popular taste. Since he wrote in Spanish for a Spanish American audience, he had no need to do so. He wrote for his brother officers a scientific treatise on the tactics and strategy of Bolívar's campaigns.

The author has taken up in order each of Bolívar's campaigns in Venezuela and New Granada, from the liberation of Caracas in 1813 (called by the author the "Admirable Campaign") to the campaign of Carabobo in 1821. In each, the historian has followed the formal military method of stating first, the "general situation", second, the "special situations", third, the details of troop movements, and concluded with remarks on the result of the campaign and criticisms of the plans and methods of the commanders of both armies. Such a method necessitates frequent reference to the map in order to fix in mind every place mentioned and to obtain a mental picture of troop movements. The non-military reader will not have the patience to do this, and to him this book will probably seem dry and uninteresting. The author has made no attempt to appeal to this class of reader. He has enlivened his narrative with no human interest details and with no vivid or inspiring descriptions of heroic deeds. He has written primarily as an instructor in the art of war for classes of young army officers. He cares nothing for popular approval. He has kept in mind, however, that he is also writing for historians and future historians of the independence movement in northern South America will instinctively turn to his volume for clear, definite, and authoritative information about the campaigns of those wars.

For his historical data, he has apparently made no original research in unedited manuscripts. His sources, as evidenced by his documentation, are almost entirely limited to the standard volumes of documents of O'Leary and of José Félix Blanco. He has also used the *Memorias* of Urdaneta and of Páez, and the secondary works of well known historians such as Lecuna, Larrazábal, and Rivas Vicuña. In only a few cases are other official documents cited in footnotes. List of troops and commanders may sometimes have been taken from such sources.

Perhaps the feature of this book most valuable for historians of Venezuela and of the independence movement in northern South America, is the clarification of the rather confused series of events in Venezuela from 1810 to 1819 and the explanation of their relationship to Bolívar's early campaigns. Heretofore, historians have had to grope blindly through this hazy period, but now the military mind of General López Contreras has coördinated events in such a way that their relationships seem obvious. The scores of engagements which

were being fought all over Venezuela under various commanders have now been logically grouped into their proper compartments as part of Bolívar's plan for the liberation of his native land.

His accounts and analyses of the battles of Boyacá and Carabobo are of especial interest and merit minute study. In the first he describes the main action as taking place on the hills and ravines north of the bridge, the fighting at the bridge and south of it being merely a subsidiary encounter between the vanguards of the two armies—in this agreeing with Vicente Lecuna, Colonel Arturo Santana, General Carlos Cortez Vargas, and the general staff of the army of Colombia. His description, together with three plans showing the positions of the various organizations of troops at critical periods of the battle, render the progress of the conflict unusually clear and confirm the opinion of the reviewer, gained by a personal visit to the battlefield, that if the battle had been fought at the bridge and south of it, as advocated by the opposing school of thought, Barreiro, the royalist commander, could have reached his objective at Bogotá in safety and need not have surrendered.

In the second, General López Contreras disagrees with other historians. He believes that Páez with the first division was sent to the left, not merely as a threat against the right flank of the royalist army but to make the main attack from that direction. The second and third divisions of the patriot army were to follow but did not have time to get into position before the battle was over. The fact that they took so little part in the battle is proof of this theory, for Bolívar did not plan to deliver his main attack against the front of the enemy which they faced. They served as a containing force to hold this front in position until Bolívar's whole army could change its own position to envelop the enemy's right flank. Had the royalists not retreated so soon when attacked by Páez, the second and third divisions of the patriot army, as well as the first, might have taken part in the battle. The success of Bolívar's tactics was far greater than he could have expected and put an end to the battle before he was ready for it.

As has been said, the book ends with the battle of Carabobo. No account is given of the two later theaters of war in New Granada, either that of Cartagena and Santa Marta or that of Pasto and Popayan, because "all authors are in agreement and official documents prove that after the battle of Boyacá, Bolívar had only two objects

in view, first to destroy Morillo and then to gather all his resources for the campaign of the south''. This explains the omission of the battle of Bomboná. Although the battle of Ayacucho was Sucre's battle and not Bolívar's, the plan of the campaign in Peru was the latter's and might properly have been included, although its omission in no way mars the book itself.

On page 88 the reviewer notes that the Scotchman Gregor MacGregor is called an Irishman. Irishmen who are familiar with that adventurer's career will not feel flattered. On page 159, the legion of General F. Evereux is mentioned. Doubtless the Irish Legion of General John D'Evereux is intended.

For a book of this nature, detailed maps of the campaigns are essential. These have been provided to the number of sixteen. Nowhere else has the reviewer come across such excellent plans of Bolívar's campaigns. They are clearly drawn to large scale and contain the names of all places mentioned in the text without being cluttered up with names of no importance for the purpose of this study. The routes of important commanders are also indicated on the plans of each campaign in which such commanders were engaged. These maps and plans are indispensable, for without them much of the text would be difficult to follow. There are also many interesting reproductions of battle scenes by the Venezuelan artists, Tito Salas and Tovar y Tovar, which adorn the national place and other public buildings in Caracas. Photographs of parts of battlefields are also reproduced as are portraits of many of Bolívar's generals.

An appendix presents a tabular statement of battles, sieges, and engagements that took place on Venezuelan soil during the War of Independence from 1806 to 1823 for which the author gives credit to the *Album of the Army of Venezuela* of General Manuel Landaeta Rosales. The bibliography is limited to a single page on which are listed only fifteen titles. One who is familiar with books published in Spain or Spanish America does not expect an index; but here, as elsewhere, the omission of a good index is a handicap.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College.

Caribbean Backgrounds and Prospects. By CHESTER LLOYD JONES.
(New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1931. Pp.
\$347. \$3.50.)

In his preface the author designates his book as a "a study of the economic and social factors which have played a part in the life of the Caribbean Regions". Within the Caribbean regions he includes all the countries of Middle America, all the islands of the West Indies, the Guiana Colonies, and Venezuela and Colombia in South America. In his study of the social factors he devotes one chapter to racial factors, one to health problems, and one to education, and then discusses economic conditions in ten more chapters, ending with Chapter XV "Toward Independence" in which he summarizes the past and expresses optimism for the future. Chapter I, "The Caribbean", contains a brief survey of the history of this region, and describes the increasing rôle of the United States there. It then describes the economic, climatic, and social situations, giving a brief survey of progress during the twentieth century and opening the way for fuller discussions in subsequent chapters. In 1907, an observer looking back over the four hundred years of the history of this region "found much to justify a feeling of pessimism as to its future", but the author believes that "a fairer judgment results from measurement against the picture they presented a generation ago". He believes that "the advance they have made in the last generation is assurance that solid progress is possible and advance is now occurring at a rate far greater than at any previous time". Having sounded this note of optimism, the author continues throughout the book to cite facts and figures to prove it.

Statistics appear not only frequently in tabulated form but everywhere as part of a running comment on conditions. While this reliance on statistics to illustrate conditions gives added force to the author's statements, it has the obvious drawback of making this generally accurate and painstaking book appear out of date far too soon. Undoubtedly, however, the latest statistics available at the time of writing (those for 1929) were used; but there will always be a question in the reader's mind of developments as shown by later statistics.

In the chapter on education, Professor Jones lapses from his usual optimism and paints a rather gloomy picture. There are two general criticisms of education in those countries where it has been most suc-

cessful. First, "students are prepared for 'white collar jobs' which are few, rather than for the practical activities of new and undeveloped countries in which opportunities are more numerous", and second, "the educational facilities do not reach the common people effectively". Everywhere education has been hampered by lack of funds, scarcity of qualified teachers, inability of children living in remote regions to reach the schools, and political disturbance. Even in Cuba and Porto Rico, where education was given a strong initial impetus by the United States, present conditions show a sad falling off from former standards. Yet, with the exception of Costa Rica and the Virgin Islands, Cuba stands highest in the tables of literacy, and Porto Rico follows close. Statistics show illiteracy in Haiti as high as 98 per cent and in Guatemala of over 86 per cent. Although the table of illiteracy does give reason for despondency, one must remember that illiteracy statistics are difficult to compile and impossible to compare since they have no common basis of computation in the several states.

The chapters on economic conditions show the importance of sugar and coffee as export crops and also the dangers in too close concentration on these as single crops. The diversification of Caribbean products is urged and the steps already taken toward that end are described. The importance of petroleum, especially to Venezuela and Colombia, is shown by means of statistics. The history of the banana industry is interestingly told and its importance to countries which would otherwise devote themselves exclusively to coffee and become one crop countries, is emphasized.

Although the figures representing the trade of the United States in the Caribbean do not compare in volume with those representing similar trade with Europe, the former, as Professor Jones points out, is of more interest to United States manufacturers and workman. Our imports from the Caribbean consist largely of raw materials and our exports thither are mostly manufactured articles, while our trade with highly industrialized Europe is just the reverse.

Financial information is concisely stated in the chapters on "Public Loans" and "Foreign Investments". Here again the United States has, since the war, gained a leadership over other lending and investing nations. In the Caribbean, the sugar and tropical fruit industries have seen the most marked increase of interest. Funds of private enterprises and ventures themselves have taken the greater

part of American capital invested in the Caribbean. In Cuba, alone, at the end of 1928, United States investments, mostly in sugar plantations, were estimated at \$1,300,000,000. Referring to "dollar diplomacy" in Central America, although he does not call it that, Professor Jones shows by statistics the rather surprising fact that United States investments in Nicaragua, where the United States has repeatedly intervened with marines ever since 1917, now amount only to \$17,000,000 while in the other countries "which have figured practically not at all in international difficulties" such investments are as follows: in Guatamala, \$20,000,000 chiefly in railroads and public loans; in Salvador, \$21,000,000, in railroads, mines, and banking; in Costa Rica, \$42,000,000, in mining and fruit production, and in Honduras, \$60,000,000, in mines but above all in the fruit industry. Although the author does not mention it by name in this connection, he undoubtedly refers to the United Fruit Co. This company with its banana plantations and railroads in the Central American states and in the islands of the West Indies (as well as a banana plantation at Santa Marta in Colombia) vies with United States oil companies operating in Venezuela and Colombia for primacy among our investors in the Caribbean.

Such industries as these the author designates as "extractive industries" by which he means those from which the derived profits "instead of finding their way back into local commerce are drained off to the advantage of foreign investors." Although these may rightly be charged with lacking "interest in developing the communities in which their activities lie" yet the wages which they pay do, undoubtedly, accrue to the benefit of very many of the residents of these communities.

In his final chapter, "Toward Independence", the author again emphasizes the facts that the Caribbean region has suffered greater lack of independence than have most parts of the world and that lack of protection from disturbance of the peace has been, until our own generation, one of the serious handicaps of the independent areas, but he finds much to hope for in the progress which has been made during the past quarter century. Improvements in educational facilities, in means of transportation, in commerce and industry, and in public order, are clearly evident. Hope also lies in present evidences toward better crop diversification and to the encouragement of immigration.

The volume closes with an appeal for broader coöperation, both political and economic, by the American nations and a realization by the United States that less interference with the political affairs of the Caribbean region, and more intimate cultural relations with them, together with encouragement in the fuller development of their national resources, will be "to the advantage of all the American republics and of the world at large."

A twenty page bibliography of books and periodicals arranged by countries furnishes a useful reference list of recent authorities (most of them published since 1910) on economic developments in the Caribbean region. The index is entirely satisfactory. The frontispiece map of "The Caribbean Region" contains nothing new and is necessarily drawn on too small a scale for convenient use. Its redeeming feature is the clearness of the type used in the names of places. Most of the facts and statistics presented in this volume have been taken from public documents of the United States, but the vividness of description and personal appeal are the result of extensive travel by the author and long residence in the Caribbean regions. As new statistics become available, revised editions of this book can do away with its most obvious fault and keep it up-to-date as a standard reference volume on social and economic conditions in the Caribbean.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College.

En la Catedra (Prontuario sobre las relaciones de los pueblos). By PEDRO ITRIAGO-CHACÍN. 2d. ed. (corrected and enlarged). (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1930. Pp. 713.)

This book, the first edition of which (pp. 556) appeared in 1925, contains a series of lectures, the majority of them delivered by Dr. Itriago-Chacín in the National University of Caracas. The first lecture is a eulogy on the mission of the jurisconsult, and was delivered on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Lyceum of the Political Sciences of Caracas. The author finds that science penetrates into the innermost recesses of human relationships as well as into those of human thought. He finds that the future of political science is practically limitless, and maintains that the political scientist will wield an ever increasing influence in the development of human relationships.

The book is divided into three unequal parts, with an appendix and an index. The first part, dealing with the "Origins of the Rights of Man", treats this subject in considerable detail. The author takes up the subject under the seven heads into which C  rlos Calvo, the celebrated Argentine authority on jurisprudence, divides the study of the law of the nations. That is: the period from ancient times to the Roman Empire, from the Roman Empire to the treaties of Westphalia, from the treaties of Westphalia to the treaty of Utrecht, from the treaty of Utrecht to the end of the Seven Years War, from the end of the Seven Years War to the French Revolution, from the French Revolution to the Congress of Vienna, and from the Congress of Vienna to the present time. He discusses the effect of commerce upon human relationships; the formation of private international law; the principle of sovereignty of the states in the Congress of Westphalia, the French Revolution, and in the evolution of the American nationalities; the development of modern international law and its consecration in the covenant of the League of Nations.

The second part, dealing with the "Relations between Public and Private Law", treats of the sovereignty and juridical equality of nations, the relations between states and between governments, the r  le of diplomatic and consular agents, territorial delimitations, the status of aliens, the nature of private law, juridical personality, and other matters.

The third part, dealing with "Commercial Relations", treats of the influence of commerce upon the international relations of states, the influence of commerce upon civilization and the economics of nations, the classification of states according to the character of their economic evolution, the mobility of the factors of economic production and consumption, finance, commercial treaties, and colonies in relation to commerce and trade.

The appendix contains a list of the treaties and international agreements of Venezuela at the time of the writing of this book.

The breadth of information, the comprehensive nature of the work, and the clear cut manner in which the author presents his views show a mastery of the subject which is altogether commendable. There has been much painstaking research, careful analysis, and much labor in organization. Dr. Itriago-Chac  n's style is lucid, bold, even brilliant in parts. The whole is an excellent treatise on subjects in which the

students of Hispanic America are intensely interested. It is to be hoped that the work will be translated into English for it deserves wide study among English speaking peoples.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

The University of Pittsburgh.

The Struggle for South America. By J. F. NORMANO. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. 294. \$4.00.)

This volume discusses the relations of the South American republics with the other nations of the world under the simile of a courtship. South America collectively is the coy maiden and severally the countries are constant or flirtatious depending on which is considered. The suitors or wooers are the United States and other countries, who pursue their courtship each in its characteristic manner and with their own interested motives. Curiously however in the treatment of the suitors, the author heads the chapter "the seducers," this implying something illicit in a relationship which he consistently throughout the work portrays as legitimate.

The basis of the discussion is economic, with emphasis upon trade relations. The study of the trade movement is confined to the period since 1913, this year being taken as the basis for comparison. In general, the trade of South America is treated as a unit and especial attention is given to the growth of the United States trade with those countries. In view of later discussion, it would have been interesting to have had included an indication of the markets of the individual South American countries, i.e., where they sell their products and from whom they secure their supplies. One wonders to what extent this may be a determining factor in the constant or flirtatious character of the countries. To have begun the study of trade relations at the beginning of the present century would have added to the story.

Under the caption of "Ideology" the character of the suitors and the courted are portrayed. The non-American wooers or seducers, as the author prefers to call them, are Spain, Italy, France, Germany, England, and Japan. The mother country, the religious parent, the mistress, the supplier of cheap goods, the builder of railways and contributor of "the Englishman's word," and the representative of the orient, each respectively have put and are putting forth their best efforts, donned in their finest feathers, to attract and win the friend-

ship and trade of the countries of the South American continent. In one point they are all a unit and this is in their opposition to the United States. On the part of the United States, the courtship is the natural outgrowth of the certain community of interests which is conceived as based upon

the geographical closeness, their common principal of governmental structure (anti-monarchical and republican), similar foreign policies (European danger), similarity of origins, as European colonies, and the faith in the common future of the countries of the new world.

Active courtship began with official Pan-Americanism but has had its most effective results from mass production on the part of the United States and the need of this latter country for the raw materials of South America. It has been essentially a process of economic penetration.

On the side of the courted, Argentina represents the anti-continental and pro-European attitude, being affected by its desire for South American hegemony. Brazil, on the other hand, holds the continental and pro-American viewpoint and consequently has ever maintained a most friendly attitude toward the United States. These are the constant maidens. The other eight countries are fickle, swayed by circumstances, but especially influenced by a fear of aggrandizement by the United States. The Yankee peril (*Peligro yanqui*) is found to be an important factor in influencing the attitude of South America, and in fact is the only factor making for South American unity. The idea of the Yankee peril born in Europe and boosted in the United States has been adopted only in certain circles in South America. It is not found in the hearts of the people but is fostered as a pastime of literary eminences, most of whom are exiles from their native lands, either forcibly or voluntarily. The movement is not due to economic penetration but is mere political atmosphere.

The author has propounded the questions as to whether Anglo-Saxon and Iberian peoples can live together in mutual regard, and what form the relations will take. In answer, he surveys the pessimism of South American writers and confounds them with their own words. As a true son of Brazil he takes little stock in the Yankee peril and is optimistic regarding the future. He finds no cultural danger to South America. His survey of the various movements, Latin-Americanism (France, Italy), Hispanic-Americanism or Pan-

Hispanism (Spain), Ibero-Americanism (Spain and Portugal), Lusitanianism (Portugal), Continentalism (South America), and official Pan-Americanism (United States and Ibero-America), shows his feeling that none of these ideas have afforded a real solution for the problems of South America. Official Pan-Americanism can not be defined and is an illusion, although advantages derived from the efforts of the Pan-American Union are recognized. Rather in Cuba, which is studied as an experiment in the relations of Anglo-Saxon and Ibero-Americans, does the author find a possible solution. The problems arise from the economic characteristics of the two regions involved. South America is affected by its mono-production and mono-exportation, by its lack of transportation and lack of capital. The United States is motivated by mass production and abundant capital. The adjustment, so far as South America is concerned, must arise from sufficient industrialization and Americanization, together with the development of local capital and transportation, to afford some counter-balance to the mass production on the part of the United States. The political aspect of the question is not a really disturbing factor.

The volume lacks an index and a bibliography. True, the works cited are given in the notes but considerable confusion arises from the excessive use of "*op. cit.*", which is frequently employed when the title is given and at times when neither author nor title are given. A number of proper names are misspelled and there are places where the meaning is not clear, owing perhaps to translation. The volume is thought provoking, presents most interesting considerations, and is a valuable addition to the literature on the relations of South America and the United States.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Leonia, New Jersey.

Highway into Spain. By MARCEL AUROUSSEAU. (New York: Alfred H. King, Inc., 1931. Pp. 294. \$3.50.)

Beyond the Pyrenees. By MARCEL AUROUSSEAU. (New York: Alfred H. King, Inc., 1931. Pp. 402. \$3.50.)

Charles of Europe. By D. B. WYNDHAM LEWIS. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1931. Pp. 367. \$3.75.)

Spain is still a country of glamor and of romance, and as long as it remains so, people will continue to write about their experiences in

it. Particularly does it appeal to persons interested in the fascinations of history and in the contemplation of contemporary romantic society.

Mr. Auroousseau, with an American companion, walked from Paris to Madrid in the spring of 1926, and he wrote the two volumes here noted to tell of his experiences, thoughts, and reactions during the journey. Thus these books are in the nature of a combined autobiography and travel account. The author touched many of the out-of-the-way places in both countries, and he therefore saw what the average traveler does not see. These things he describes in a naïve and interesting fashion, although he occasionally bores his reader with certain parenthetical observations. His descriptions of persons are altogether admirable, and his contrasts of the Spanish and French character are as striking as his comparisons of the varying landscapes. Although the first volume deals with France and the beginning of the trip, it need not be read first. Nature lovers and hikers will find in both books models for imitation, while students of race psychology and sociology will discover much material for consideration.

After reading the third volume here noted, one feels certain that it falls far short of being an important contribution to the immense literature centered about the interesting character of Charles V. The work, it is true, is interesting and dramatic, but largely because the facts and characters are interesting and dramatic. In order not to follow too closely in the footsteps of previous biographers of Charles, Mr. Wyndham Lewis has endeavored to make comparisons with present day conditions and events, drawing analogies wherever possible, and introducing his own personal opinions. He has compared his hero with his contemporaries and has placed him in a lurid renaissance setting which adds an effective frame to the picture but which very nearly causes Charles to be lost to view. Occasionally, he introduces anecdotes told by or about the emperor. In every instance, however, the author has not hesitated to condemn certain actors, particularly Luther and those with Protestant leanings. Indeed, herein lies the blemish in the picture, for the author seems to have used his book as a medium of propaganda in order to advocate the return of a united Catholic Europe and to exalt the Church as everlasting and impeccable. He has done for Charles V. what Mr. Walsh did for Isabella. Both books and both authors appear to be colored by

religious prejudices. In consequence, these works cannot be considered as impartial or scholarly historical products.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

The Mission of San Antonio de Padua. By FRANCES RAND SMITH. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932. Pp. ix, 108. Maps and illus. \$2.00.)

The Alamo, Altar of Texas Liberty. By FREDERICK C. CHABOT. ([San Antonio]: 1931. Pp. xi, 141. Maps and illus.)

Mrs. Smith's little volume is a study of a mission located some seventy-five miles southeast of Monterey, California, with emphasis, however, on architecture and irrigation systems. The work also contains an Indian legend of early discovery. Based upon a careful examination of the sources and field surveys of the ruins of the mission, the volume is a reliable and valuable contribution to a phase of civilization in California during the Spanish period.

Mr. Chabot dwells mainly on the Texas struggle for independence, but he gives a good sketch of the history of the Alamo mission from its founding to 1813, as well as a chronological history of Texas up to 1836. The capture of Béxar, the fall of the Alamo, and the battle of San Jacinto are described in detail. The author also gives the names of the Texans who fell at the Alamo, together with brief biographies of eight of them. His work is based upon the sources and appears to be a reliable discussion of the events dealt with.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

Little Mexico. By WILLIAM SPRATLING. (New York: Jonathan Cape, 1932. Pp. 198. Illus. \$2.00.)

Mexico. A study of Two Americas. By STUART CHASE. (New York: MacMillan, 1931. Pp. vii, 338. Illus. by Diego Rivera. \$3.00.)

The first volume noted above is a charming work consisting of sketches of Mexican scenes and characters. The little town of Tasco and the Mexican *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* are vividly described. There are also intimate portraits of a revolutionary leader, an agrarian, two Catholic ladies, a Mexican artist, an uncompromising mem-

ber of the old régime, a Mexican servant girl, and a flaming apostle of learning. In a brief foreword, Diego Rivera, the well known Mexican artist, writes, among other things, the following: "Your portraits have the acuteness and grace of those painted by certain masters in my country who died before I was born. Those portraits were made with precision and tenderness and contain irony and love."

In the second volume, Mr. Chase has written a most interesting comparative study of a machine and a machineless civilization. He evinces much enthusiasm for the ancient civilizations of the Aztecs and the Mayas and deals harshly with the Spanish régime. For this reason, the work should be read with caution. Written in a most interesting style, the volume provokes thought; citizens of the United States cannot fail to profit by a perusal of its pages. It is not only a stimulating study of Mexican civilization, but it also suggests the analogy between Mexico and several other countries of Hispanic America.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

Justo Rufino Barrios. By PAUL BURGESS. (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., Inc., 1926. Pp. xxii, 263. Illus. \$3.00.)

Dr. Burgess, for some years a Protestant missionary in Guatemala, based his study largely on primary sources, especially official documents, filling gaps and supplementing with oral testimony from associates and other contemporaries of Barrios. His book, in addition to being a biography of the most important political figure produced by Central America, is a survey of Guatemalan history—and to a considerable extent of Central American—from independence to the death of Barrios, in April, 1885. The author is open-minded and fair in his treatment of controversial subjects. Though he admires Barrios, he is aware of the faults of his hero, and criticizes some aspects of his relations with the Roman Church, as well as various other acts. The result is a vivid and apparently trustworthy portrait of the adventurer-statesman. Nervous and restless, Barrios played practical jokes for recreation. Emotional and impulsive, though he loved his country, he seemed incapable of really studying its problems in an effort to solve them wisely, and of making careful, consistent preparation for the changes he wished to bring about. Opposition to his

policies he met with force. When one of his ministers reminded him of the "constitution", he shook his horsewhip exclaiming, "This is the constitution I govern by" (p. 134). The chief difference between Carrera and Barrios, says Dr. Burgess, is that "the former exercised tyranny to sustain medievalism and the latter to sustain modern democratic measures" (p. 135). Barrios unquestionably was unwise in his method of trying to reunite Central America; he went about it casually and impulsively. Though he believed in union, he undertook to achieve it partly because he had exhausted the possibilities of Guatemala and needed something to do.

The frontispiece of the book is a portrait of Barrios. There is a table of contents, but no index. (Do we not need a special black list for publishers who issue informational works unequipped with indexes?) The style is verbose and otherwise faulty, but the volume is readable and is a very welcome addition to the meager bibliography of Central American history.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

Archibald Robertson, Lieutenant General Royal Engineers: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762-1780. Edited with an Introduction by HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG. (New York: The New York Public Library, 1930. Pp. x, (2), 300. Illus. Index. \$10.00.)

Nos. 1-30 of this handsome volume were printed on Kelmscott Hammer and Anvil hand made paper, and Nos. 31-230 on BR rag paper. The printing itself was done at the New York Public Library under the supervision of John Archer. The result mechanically is most pleasing; and this interesting volume in its attractive and substantial binding, is worth display among any collection of books. Its types are handsome and easily read. The plates are excellently reproduced, and the profusion of well executed illustrations (63 in all) enhance the value of the volume. Copies have been autographed by Mr. Lydenberg.

Its editing leaves nothing to be desired. Mr. Lydenberg has done his work conscientiously and in a scholarly manner. His annotations are sparing and to the point. The volume is a contribution to the war between England and Spain, with the consequent capture of Havana by the British in 1762; and later to the American Revolution.

Five diaries are reproduced in all, the first pertaining to the capture of Havana and the other four to the American Revolution. These latter are dated respectively, August, 1775, April, 1777, May, 1777-April, 1778, April 1778-May, 1779, and May, 1779-December, 1780. The first covers events from January 15 to July 22, 1762. It ends with the attack on the British posts by the Spaniards, the repulse of the latter, the declaration of a truce in order that the Spaniards might remove their dead, and the renewal of hostilities. Just why the diary stopped at this point is not known.

In his well written introduction, Mr. Lydenberg tells something of Robertson's movements. After the end of the Havana campaign, he went to Pensacola with the British army of occupation and possession, and remained there until 1767 when he returned to Great Britain. Unquestionably, his diary relative to the operations against Havana and what little record exists relative to his stay in Florida is not so important as his diaries relative to the American Revolution, but the record is of considerable interest to the student of Hispanic American history. In Florida, Robertson, who was an engineer, built various forts and was apparently an active and intelligent officer. From accounts of this nature, much helpful information can be gleaned with regard to the contact between the Anglo Saxons and Spaniards in North America. In this respect, the Anglo Saxon-Spanish contact is a prelude to the later Anglo American-Spanish contact in Florida, as evidenced both during and after the end of the American Revolution. There must be many other diaries of the period which when published will serve to round out the story still further.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Libretto de tutta la Navigazione de Re de Spagna de le Isole et Terreni nouamente trouati. Venice, 1504. A Facsimile with an Introduction by LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Editeur, 1930. Pp. 9, (3), 31. Paper.)

The dates on the cover title (reproduced above) and the title page are respectively 1930 and 1929, the discrepancy probably arising from the times of printing. The title page bears the added information: "A fascimile from the only known perfect copy, now in the John Carter Brown Library of the famous book of the King of Spain's Voyages, being: I. The earliest collection of voyages. II. The first

edition of Peter Martyr's first decade. III. The earliest published account of the first three voyages of Columbus to the new world." This facsimile is, therefore, of great value bibliographically as well as historically. Only one other copy of the original book is known, that in the Biblioteca Marciana, in Venice, but it is defective, lacking the first leaf on which the title is shown. The present copy was bought by the John Carter Brown Library in 1904 shortly after its discovery in Italy. John Boyd Thacher reproduced the Venice copy (then believed unique) with an English translation in his monumental work. He also gave pertinent bibliographical and historical data concerning the *Libretto*. It is, therefore, not entirely a new book to American students, as Mr. Wroth has brought out in his excellent introduction. That but two copies of it, so far as known, have been preserved is an indication of the popularity enjoyed by the book when it was published, for it was probably read to pieces. Mr. Wroth assigns it a place of honor only second to the earliest editions of the Columbus letter. It was printed without the knowledge of Peter Martyr who allowed Angelo Trevisan to copy his Latin letters describing the voyages of Columbus in order that he might send them to Domenica Malapiero. Trevisan translated the letters literally into Italian and in that form they were published in 1504, seven years before Peter Martyr published his first decade in Latin. In the publication of 1504, several rather ludicrous errors were made by the printer and these were carried over into the second edition of the book in 1507 and into its German translation. The facsimile is excellently made, and Mr. Wroth's Introduction has markedly increased its value. Its publication has added one more Columbus title that has been made easily available to students.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

FRAY MARCOS DE NIZA Y EL DESCUBRIMIENTO DE NUEVO MEXICO

LOS ANTECEDENTES

A partir del descubrimiento, conquista y pacificación de Colima, que llevaron a cabo Juan Álvarez Chico, Cristóbal de Olid y Gonzalo de Sandoval en 1522, la expansión española sigue, casi exclusivamente, una dirección noroccidental. Una verdadera idea-ambiente—la del estrecho de Anián—empujó al norte los navíos del conquistador, y en pocos años la costa del continente fué recorrida desde Tehuantepec hasta el actual estado de Oregón, en el oeste americano; pero aquel anhelado contacto de los dos océanos—llave de oro para una navegación fantástica entre Europa y Oriente—seguía huyendo delante de las velas descubridoras.

Era necesario buscarlo por tierra: la cruz y la espada avanzaron rápidamente hacia el noroeste, por la faja de tierra que descende desde la Sierra Madre Occidental hasta la costa del Pacífico.

Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventura—pariente de don Hernando—Alcalde Mayor de Colima en 1524, recorrió el oeste de Jalisco, llegando más allá de Chiamila, en Tepic, pues dice Tello,¹ que de este último punto todavía fueron “al pueblo de Cuxmalán, que era de indios sayultecos, de la encomienda de Alonso Avalos”.

Pero indudablemente que la figura de Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán es la más interesante en esta etapa de la conquista. Exacto ejemplo del conquistador del siglo XVI—audaz, dinámico y valiente—era por añadidura sanguinario. En 1529, su cordial enemigo el Marqués del Valle se preparaba a regresar al escenario de su epopeya, lleno de los favores del Emperador Carlos. Nuño sintió venir la tempestad—cosecha de los vientos que había sembrado en Pánuco cuando su gubernatura y en México cuando la primera audiencia. No la esperó, y en diciembre salió de México, atravesando en mayo siguiente el Tototlán, el último punto que conocían los españoles. No eran sólo el afán judaico de enriquecerse ni la envidia tenaz por opacar los tri-

¹ *Libro segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea* (Guadalajara, 1891).

unos del Marqués los que lo animaban en aquella formidable empresa. También la fantasía ponía su nota curiosa y colorida con la búsqueda de las Siete Ciudades y de la Isla de las Mujeres, espejismo amable y misterioso que los conquistadores veían brillar siempre delante de sus reales.

En quince meses, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán llevó los suyos desde el Tolototlán hasta los límites actuales de Sonora y Sinaloa. Fiel a su carácter, acompañó su gigantesco esfuerzo con alardes de crueldad y de perfidia que más tarde le costarían su puesto y sus derechos. De Cinco Barrios, último jalón de su conquista, salieron aún dos de sus capitanes: López, que dirigiéndose al oriente atravesó la serranía, internándose por primera vez en Durango y encontrando alguna de las ramas del Nazas y Samaniegos—infatigable conquistador que moriría después a manos de indios cuando la expedición de Vázquez de Coronado en 1540— se aventuró hasta el río que hoy llamamos de Sinaloa. En su vuelta a Nueva Galicia, Nuño fundó a San Miguel de Culiacán, en los últimos días de julio o en los primeros de agosto de 1531. Dos años después, en 1533, Diego Hernández de Proaño, que había quedado de alcalde mayor de la villa, ordenó dos pequeñas expediciones. Sebastián de Evora, con la primera, llegó al río de su nombre—hoy Mocorito;—la segunda, al mando de un pariente de Nuño, Diego de Guzmán, en cinco meses atravesó el Petatlán, el Fuerte y el Mayo, y aun exploró el Yaqui desde su desembocadura en el Seno de California hasta Nevame.

A fines de 1536 “los cuatro perdidos” de la malhadada expedición de Pánfilo de Narváez—El Caballero de la Negra Estrella—a la Florida, después de su famosísimo cautiverio entre gentiles, se reintegraron al mundo cristiano, y después de permanecer por algunos días en San Miguel Culiacán, llegaron a México, donde hicieron relación de su viaje “de manera que aficionó tanto al virrey D. Antonio de Mendoza al descubrimiento de que le dieron noticia”,² que se decidió desde luego a tomarle la delantera a sus rivales en la tarea de conquistar y pacificar aquellas tierras.

Aunque según el itinerario reconstruido por Bancroft³ y por

² Baltasar de Obregón, *Historia de los Descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España* (México, 1924).

³ *North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1883-1889).

Bandelier⁴ los cuatro peregrinos no llegaron a internarse en el actual territorio de Nuevo México, es indudable que su odisea—que fué desde entonces un bello exorno más para los libros de aventuras y viajes—avivó el interés por conquistar las tierras del norte, que la exaltada relación de “los perdidos” pintaba con colores de magia y de misterio.

EL DESCUBRIMIENTO

Mendoza trató primeramente de enviar una pequeña fuerza, al mando de Dorantes, uno de los legendarios peregrinos: pero fracasó en su intento. Poco después, habiendo obtenido del mismo Dorantes que le vendiera a su esclavo Estebanico, organizó una expedición, en la que fueron Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Gobernador y Capitán General de la Nueva Galicia, y fray Marcos de Niza, religioso de la orden seráfica que residía a la sazón en la misma provincia. Estos dos personajes marcharían juntos hasta San Miguel de Culiacán, donde el primero marcharía hacia el oriente, atravesando la Sierra Madre, a explorar la provincia de Topira (Topia) de la que había tenido noticias el virrey, y fray Marcos trataría de encontrar un camino al norte, para comprobar la relación de Cabeza de Vaca y compañeros.

Veamos los documentos originales: Decía el virrey al emperador en una carta:

Tuve varias conversaciones con él [se refiere a Dorantes] pensé que podría rendir un gran servicio a Vuestra Magestad si lo pudiera mandar con 40 o 50 caballos y todos los objetos necesarios para descubrir este país. Gasté mucho dinero para la expedición, pero no sé como sucedió que no dió resultado. Me quedó un esclavo negro que había venido con Dorantes y que le había comprado, asimismo algunos indios que había recogido en aquellas partes, los cuales mandé con fray Marcos de Niza y un religioso compañero suyo del orden de San Francisco. . . .⁵

En las instrucciones que el virrey daba a fray Marcos a fines de 1538, se lee:

Y porque Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, a quien S. M. tiene proveído por gobernador de esa provincia irá con vos hasta la Villa de San Miguel Culiacán, avisarme heis como provee a las cosas de aquella Villa, en lo que toca al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y conversión y buen tratamiento de los naturales de

⁴ *Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition. Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States* (Cambridge, 1890).

⁵ Payón en su libro inédito “Bosquejo Histórico sobre el Nuevo México”; Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi* (Venetia, 1563-1583), f. 296 vta., y 297 fte.

aquella Provincia. . . . Y si por medio del ayuda y favores de Dios Nuestro Señor y la gracia del Espíritu Santo llega Usted a encontrar un camino sobre el cual pueda proseguir más adelante y penetrar más tierra dentro. . . .⁹

Hay que hacer notar que Mendoza era otra víctima de la preocupación por encontrar el estrecho de Anián, pues una de las instrucciones de fray Marcos, era:

Saber siempre si hay noticia de la costa de la mar; así de la parte del Norte como de la del Sur, porque podría ser estrecharse la tierra y entrar algún brazo de mar la tierra adentro.⁷

En una carta de Coronado al Rey, que copio del reciente libro del doctor C. Pérez Bustamante *D. Antonio de Mendoza, Primer Virrey de Nueva España* se lee:

Yo llevé conmigo a la Provincia de Culiacán a fray Marcos de Niza con mandado del virrey que le metiese tierra adentro a descubrir la costa de Nueva España en lo que no se ha visto. . . .

Ninguno de estos documentos, como se ve claramente, se refiere a viaje alguno anterior al de fray Marcos. Este religioso sería el primero en aventurarse en aquellas regiones "por medio del ayuda y favores de Dios Nuestro Señor y la gracia del Espíritu Santo."⁸

Bernal Díaz dice:

. . . y después desde ciertos meses que obo llegado a las siete Cibdades [Vázquez Coronado, en 1540] parecio ser q̄ un frayle franco. q. se dize fray marcos de nica abia ydo de antes a descubrir aqlas. ttras. o fue en aql. viage con el mesmo franco. vazquez coronado que esto no lo sé bien. . . .⁹

Todavía más: Obregón¹⁰ escribe que el virrey Mendoza decidió satisfacerse de los descubrimientos y noticias que de los cuatro perdidos tuvo . . . lo cual fué acordado por mano de fray Marcos de Niza. . . .

El cronista confirma aquí lo que decía al Rey don Antonio de Mendoza: que fray Marcos fué el encargado de comprobar la famosa relación de Cabeza de Vaca. Es sabido, y más adelante lo diré, que Fray

⁹ *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimientos, Conquista y Colonización . . . en America y Oceania*, III. (1865), 326-327.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Véase Volumen III. de los *Anales de la Universidad de Santiago* (Chile), pág. 151.

⁹ *Historia verdadera* (ed. García, México, 1904-1905), II. 429.

¹⁰ *Historia de los Descubrimientos*, pág. 13.

Marcos fué tachado de impostor durante mucho tiempo. Baltasar de Obregón no oculta su ojeriza por el fraile cuando de él habla en su obra, y no hubiera perdonado la ocasión de atacarlo, hablando de una "entrada" anterior a la de fray Marcos. No puede decirse que Obregón carecía de datos, pues además de que un viaje semejante al de que estamos hablando no hubiera pasado inadvertido para nadie, Obregón se muestra poseedor de datos poco conocidos sobre el origen del descubrimiento de Cíbola, pues es el único que nos habla de ciertas "crónicas, carácter y pinturas" halladas por Cortés

entre el homenaje, muebles y tesoro del poderoso rey Moctezuma, los cuales satisfacían el origen, tronco e venida a estos reinos de los culguas y antiguos mexicanos. . . .¹¹

Por último: el mismo famoso fraile, en su Relación¹² no dice que alguien le hubiese precedido en esa empresa.

Parece, pues, ser cierto que fray Marcos, cuando se adelantó al norte "y descubrió Siete Ciudades", fué el primer español que piso aquellas tierras.

Mendieta, Tello, y Mange, sin embargo, hablan de una expedición hecha por dos religiosos con anterioridad a fray Marcos. Dice Mendieta:

En el mismo año de treinta y ocho envió otros dos frailes por tierra y por la misma costa del mar del Sur, la vuelta hacia el norte por Jalisco y la Nueva Galicia, y yendo estos dos frailes acompañados por un capitán que iba también a descubrir nuevas tierras (aunque con diferentes fines) . . . hallaron dos caminos bien abiertos, y el capitán escogió el de la mano derecha, que parecía ir a la tierra adentro, el cual a muy pocas jornadas dió en tan ásperas sierras y peñas, que no pudiendo ir adelante, fué compelido a se volver. De los dos frayles, el uno cayó enfermo, y el otro, con dos indios intérpretes. . . .¹³

El Padre Tello escribe:

. . . y luego el mismo Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, envió otros religiosos por tierra, los cuales fueron por la costa del mar del Sur y dieron la vuelta hacia el Norte en compañía de un capitán que iba también a descubrir nuevas tierras, aunque con diferentes fines. Habiendo, pues, caminado mucho tiempo, encontraron dos caminos, y el capitán escogió el de la mano derecha, y a pocas jornadas se encontró con unas muy ásperas y encumbradas sierras, donde no pudo

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Véase *Col. de Doc. Indéd.*, III. 329-350; Hakluyt, *Voyages*, III. 366-373; Ramusio, fol. 356-359.

¹³ *Historia eclesiástico Indiana* (México, 1870), págs. 398-399.

salir, y se volvió, y uno de los religiosos, por estar muy enfermo. El otro religioso tomó el camino de la mano izquierda con dos indios que llevaba consigo para intérpretes. . . .¹⁴

Mange, por último, repite así este pasaje:

. . . despachó el año de 1538, a Fray Juan de la Asunción y un lego de su orden y con indios de varios naciones y lenguajes porque sirviesen de intérpretes . . . salieron por el Norte y norueste por la Costa del mar del Sur, e incorporándoseles ocho españoles que iban en busca de minas, . . . llegaron a la provincia de Sinaloa en donde hallando dos caminos anchos y trillados cogieron el de la mano derecha; mas a dos jornadas dieron con tan empenetrables sierras y arcabucos que les urgió retroceder, volviendo a coger el de la mano izquierda que habían dejado y habiendo caminado por él hacia el Norte y Norueste otras tres jornadas, enfermó el religioso lego a quien despachó su superior, encargándolo a los mineros que se volvían por no hallar las minas que por relación iban a descubrir.¹⁵

La extrema semejanza de estos pasajes es lo bastante sospechosa para hacernos pensar en un solo relato original, que los cronistas han venido copiando sucesivamente. Los nombres no son siempre los mismos, pero esto es lo de menos. Lo esencial es el hecho: el viaje de los dos religiosos y otros acompañantes, amén de indios intérpretes.

Ahora bien: este relato original no puede ser otro que la misma Relación de fray Marcos de Niza. Los documentos antes citados dicen que fray Marcos se acompañó en su viaje de otro religioso. En su Relación dice:

En este pueblo de Petatlán holgué tres días, porque mi compañero fray Honorato adoleció de enfermedad que me convino dexallo allí. . . . Y fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, provincial de la orden en 1538, en la certificación que antecede a la Relación, asienta . . . y así consultado y definido que fuese él, fué con otro compañero, fraile lego, que se llama Fra. Onorato. . . .¹⁶

Ese capitán y esos españoles de que hablan los tres pasajes insertos, no pueden ser otros que Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y sus hombres, quienes de San Miguel de Culiacán—hasta donde acompañaron, “aunque con diferentes fines” a fray Marcos—marcharon al oriente, es decir “a mano derecha, la tierra adentro”, pues llevaba instrucciones de Mendoza de reconocer “una provincia que se llama Topira situada detrás de las montañas”.¹⁷

¹⁴ Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea, pág. 304.

¹⁵ *Las de Tierra inógnita* (ed. del Archivo de la Nación), pág. 88.

¹⁶ Col. de Doc. Inéd., *ut supra*.

¹⁷ Carta de Mendoza al Rey.

Y los indios intérpretes no son otros que los que llevó consigo Vázquez de Coronado a Culiacán y a los que se refieren constantemente éste y Mendoza en sus cartas. El primero decía al Rey:

Por su seguridad,—la de Fray Marcos—enbié algunos indios de los que hizo esclavos Nuño de Guzmán, en los pueblos de Petatlán y del Cuchillo y libertó el Virrey para prevenir a los indios de adelante. . . . Con esto y con ver libres a los mensajeros me vinieron más de 80 i con ellos envíe a Fray Marcos y a Esteban un negro que el visorrei compró para este efecto de uno de los que escaparon de la Florida.¹⁸

Creo que está demostrado que Mendieta, Tello y Mange, tienen como fuente original la relación de fray Marcos. La razón que hayan tenido para adulterarla, parece ser la injusta fama de impostor con que Cortés quiso envolverlo en una carta dirigida al Rey, en 25 de junio de 1540.¹⁹

Este cargo del Conquistador es absolutamente falso, y nacido sólo de sus disgustos con el virrey Mendoza, con motivo de que ambos pretendían tener derecho exclusivo en la conquista del norte de la Nueva España. En este pleito también tuvieron que ver Hernando de Soto, gobernador de la Florida, Pedro de Alvarado, Adelantado de Guatemala, y aun Nuño de Guzmán, que se esforzaba por recobrar su privanza y nombradía. El Consejo de Indios lo resolvió en favor del virrey, de acuerdo con el parecer del fiscal, licenciado Villalobos, en 25 de mayo de 1540.

La misma razón parecen haber tenido Francisco Frejes, que no lo menciona en su *Historia breve de la Conquista de los Estados independientes del Imperio Mexicano*, y Fray Agustín de Vetancurt quien, a pesar de que fray Marcos de Niza fue un franciscano distinguido, no lo menciona en su *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio*, y en su *Menologio* apenas si se refiere a su elección de provincial de su orden en el año de 1540.²⁰

Fray Marcos regresó de su viaje a Cíbola en agosto de 1539. El virrey Mendoza, después de oír su relación—"ardides y engañosas razones de codicia", al decir de Obregón—se decidió a organizar en toda forma la conquista de Nuevo México. Organizó una brillante

¹⁸ Pérez Bustamante, *D. Antonio de Mendoza*.

¹⁹ García Icazbalceta, *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de México* (México, 1858-1866), II., Introduction, pp. xxviii-xxix.

²⁰ Estas tres obras fueron dado a luz en Zacatecas, 1838 (Frejes); y en México, 1697 y circa 1690 (Vetancurt).

expedición que puso a las órdenes del mismo Vázquez de Coronado, y que salió de Compostela en la primavera de 1540. Con esta expedición, fray Marcos hizo su segundo viaje a Nuevo Mexico.²¹

ARMANDO ARTEAGA Y S.

México.

[ABSTRACT]

[The discovery, conquest, and pacification of Colima was brought to an end in 1522 through the work of Juan Álvarez Chico, Cristóbal Olid, and Gonzalo de Sandoval. Later efforts from New Spain were directed almost exclusively toward the northwest. The great lure was the hopes of finding the so-called strait of Anian and later the Seven Cities of Cibola. Expeditions by sea had in a few years coasted the western shores of North America from Tehuantepec to the present state of Oregon. Inland expeditions were also organized. Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventura overran the western part of Jalisco. The most interesting of the northern conquistadors, however, was Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, the rival of Hernán Cortés. Envy and desire led him to push his explorations and inroads in a short fifteen months from Tolototlán as far as the present Sonora and Sinaloa. One of his captains, López, entered Durango and another, Samaniegos, reached the Sinaloa River. In 1531, Nuño founded San Miguel de Culiacán. In 1533, Diego Hernández de Proaño sent out two expeditions, the first of which, commanded by Sebastián de Evora, reached the present Mocorito River, and the second, commanded by Diego de Guzmán, crossed the Petatlán, the Fuerte, the Mayo, and even explored the Yaqui from its mouth in the Gulf of California to Nevame.

[In 1536, Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions reached Mexico. Fired by their story, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza resolved to explore, conquer, and pacify the lands to the northward before his great rival Hernán Cortés. He thought first to organize a small expedition under Dorantes, but this was not realized. Thereupon, he organized an expedition in which Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Fray Marcos de Niza took part. According to the instructions given them, they were to go together to San Miguel de Culiacán, whence the first was to proceed east across the Sierra Madre in order to explore the province of Topira (Topia) and Fray Marcos was to try to penetrate northward in order to prove the story of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, and find the strait of Anian. A letter from Mendoza to the king and the instructions to Fray Marcos are cited in support of this. Coronado himself stated in a letter that he had taken Fray Marcos with him at the command of the viceroy in order to explore parts of New Spain not yet seen. Bernal Diaz del Castillo is also cited to prove that before the great Coronado expedition of 1540, Fray Marcos

²¹ De ésto sí hacen mención los escritores siguientes: Mendieta (vease arriba), pág. 675; Tello (vease arriba), págs. 306 y 328; Cavo, *Los tres Siglos de México* (México, 1836-1838), pág. 40; Mange, *Luz de Tierra incógnita*, pág. 92; Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de España en México* (Tlalpam), I. 450; y J. Lloyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya* (Durham, 1927), págs. 27-28.

had gone into unknown northern lands. Baltasar de Obregón, Padre Tello, and Mange are also cited, each of whom reports the expedition with essentially the same details, although they differ as to names cited, proving that they all probably had had recourse to the same original, which could have been no other than the narrative of this initial expedition into New Mexico by Fray Marcos. Doubts as to whether the expedition had been made arose through the letter of June 25, 1540, of Hernán Cortés to the king, who accused Fray Marcos of being an impostor. Fray Marcos returned from his initial journey to the seven cities of Cibola in August, 1539. In the spring of 1540, the great Coronado expedition, in which Fray Marcos also participated, left Compostela. It was Fray Marcos's second journey into New Mexico.]

A practically unknown portrait of Christopher Columbus in the collection of the Baroness de Hutschler, of Paris and Hamburg, is described by P. H. Harris and C. V. H. de Lancey (*Apollo*, XV. No. 87, March, 1932, pp. 122-123) as being the most extraordinary item that could be encountered in the possession of a private individual. Painted on wood, measuring 56 by 43½ centimetres (22 by 17½ inches) and showing a few cracks as well as other ravages of time, the original tones of the painting have mellowed to rich golden brown. Columbus wears the beard of his later years and richly apparelled, he shows upon his chest the *Toison d'or* with which Queen Isabella of Castille had rewarded him following his triumphal return from America. The painting was originally in the possession of an ancient Spanish family. Found and acquired by Fitzgerald, one of the great connoisseurs of the Spanish school, it later passed into the collection of the Baroness de Hutschler. The authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris were sufficiently convinced of the authenticity of the painting to place a photograph of it, numbered and described, in the official files of an album relating to Columbus. It has been classified as a work of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century by some unknown artist of the Spanish School. It is interesting to observe that the same likeness is found in three recognized portraits of the great Genoese navigator which are authenticated by the weight of long and secure tradition as well as a strong chain of documentary evidence. One of these portraits was executed in his youthful period. It is presented in the engraving under the name of Christopher Columbus in the fifth part of the *Grands et petits Voyages des Frères de Bry*, published in 1595. In the "Preface to the Reader" which accompanies this engraving, Bry gives the source from which it was made. The copy of the original painting hung in the Museum of Versailles until 1870

but the actual survival of the work is now in doubt. In the Museum of the Escorial in Spain is another of the authentic representations from life of the great navigator's features. This likeness is not the same study as seen in the privately owned portrait but the subjects are the same and in the former also, Columbus wears his beard and his *Toison d'or*. Of these two portraits, that in the collection of Baroness Hutschler must take precedence over its companion owing to its comparatively better preservation from the destructive elements of time and human carelessness.—E. S. BANKS, Library of Congress.

According to the South American scholar Sr. Eugenio Labarca an important discovery in the field of early American cartography has been made in Turkey. In the archives of the sultan's palace at Constantinople there has just been discovered, among the Oriental manuscripts, a copy of the map drawn by Columbus himself on the occasion of his first voyage. The copy in question was made in colors on parchment in 1513 by the Turkish admiral, Piri Reis, and closely follows the lost original. This original map or chart had been taken from one of the companions of Columbus while a prisoner of the Turks.—P. A. M.

As this issue goes to press, later information relative to the map of Piri Reis has just been received. A reproduction of the map is published in the July 23 issue of *The London Illustrated News*, and a short description of it written by the president of the Turkish Historical Research Society. The nomenclature of the map is in Turkish and the inscriptions as well as the chart are from a chart made by Columbus himself. Information just received from Mr. William B. Goodwin, of Hartford, Connecticut, is to the effect that the nomenclature and inscriptions are now being translated into English. It is possible that when this is accomplished, we shall be in possession of new information regarding the first discoveries of Columbus.

M. André Siegfried, whose books on Great Britain and the United States have become almost classics of their kind, has just returned from a three months visit to South America laden with notes and documents. He has given a number of lectures in one of which he sums up his impressions as follows:

"D'essence profondément catholique, la civilisation sud-américaine n'a rien à craindre ni du protestantisme, ni du paganisme des nègres ou des indiens. Imbu du sentiment de famille, cultivé, élégant, l'individu sud-américain est altruiste et bon. Que lui manque-t-il? Une culture qui lui soit propre".

It is understood that M. Siegfried is preparing a book on South America.—P. A. M.

The vacancy in the directorship of the Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires caused by the lamented death of Sr. Augusto S. Mallié on September 21, 1929, has at length been filled by Sr. Hector C. Quesada (hijo). The assistant director is Sr. Eugenio Corbet-France.—P. A. M.

Death has also wrought changes in the staff of the Biblioteca Nacional of Buenos Aires. The successor of the late Paul Groussac, Dr. Carlos F. Melo, died in 1931 and was succeeded by Dr. Gustavo Martínez Zuviría. The new director, writing under the pseudonym of Hugo Wast is the author of a large number of widely-read novels, many of them historical in character.—P. A. M.

The University of Porto Rico has formed recently through the initiative of the chancellor, Señor Chardón, an Hispanic American History Circle which aims to interest college students in the history of the Americas. Under the guidance of the head of the history department, Mrs. Pilar Barbosa Rosario, the members of the circle have begun the compilation of a union list of historical materials found in the island relating to Porto Rico and to the Americas in general. Considerable enthusiasm for the project has been shown locally.—A. C. W.

After years of fruitful service as president and secretary respectively of the Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana (the foremost historical society of Argentina), Dr. Ricardo Levene and Sr. Rómulo Zabala have been succeeded by Dr. Ramón J. Cárcano and Sr. Enrique de Gandía. Dr. Cárcano is a native of Córdoba, in whose history he has taken a special interest as is witnessed by his monograph, *La Universidad de Córdoba* (1892). His other works include *Historia de los Medios de Comunicación y transporte en la República Argentina* (1893), *Del Sitio de Buenos Aires al Campo de Cepeda*

(1921), and *En el Camino* (1926). Dr. Gandía also has a large number of historical works to his credit. Among them may be mentioned *História crítica de los mitos de la Conquista americana* (1929), *História del Gran Chaco* (1929), and *Nuevos Datos para la Biografía de Juan de Garay* (1927).—P. A. M.

Professor Lowell J. Ragatz, of the George Washington University, gave a course in International Relations and Modern Imperialism (with some reference to Hispanic America) at the summer session of the University of Nebraska. Professor Percy Alvin Martin gave a course at the summer session of the University of Washington. Dr. Jac Nachbin, whose calendar of documents is now appearing in this REVIEW, gave a series of ten lectures at the University of Mexico during the summer. Professor Isaac Joslin Cox, of Northwestern, taught at the summer session in that institution. Professor Clarence H. Haring took part in the annual Institute at the University of Virginia. Miss Elizabeth Howard West, of Technological College Library, Lubbock, Texas, who spent two years in Spain for the Library of Congress, returned to the United States in September. Professor J. Fred Rippey, of Duke University, gave courses during the summer session of George Washington University.

Dr. John J. Meng, assistant, Department of Politics, Catholic University of America, is giving a course at that university on American Foreign Policy in the Caribbean Area. The course is general in its scope, including special relations of all kinds between the United States and Panama, Nicaragua, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Special attention is being given to the development of the Panama Canal and the proposed Nicaraguan Canal. The material is being presented chiefly from the historical standpoint. The Catholic University is to be congratulated on inaugurating this course relative to Hispanic America. It is hoped that it will lead to the establishment of other courses touching this region.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

INDEX OF ARTICLES RELATING TO HISPANIC AMERICA PUBLISHED IN THE NATIONAL GEO- GRAPHIC MAGAZINE, VOLUMES I-LXI IN- CLUSIVE (1888-1932)

The following list has been compiled under the auspices of the Inter American Bibliographical Association. All articles published in the first sixty-one volumes have been listed with the exception of brief "notes" of less than a page in length. These have not been included chiefly for the reason that they are of only passing interest and of no historical value unless the student is studying the editorial attitude of the periodical. Omissions also include articles dealing with European colonies in Central America, the West Indies, and South America. All articles treating of the early inhabitants of the southwestern portion of the United States have been included because of their connection with the Spanish frontier advance and because of their early ethnological relation with the Indians of Mexico.

The arrangement of the items is by geographical divisions as follows:

- I. Northern Hispanic America
 - A. Southwestern United States
 - B. Mexico
 - C. Central America
 - D. West Indies
- II. Southern Hispanic America (South America)
- III. Hispanic America as a whole
- IV. Miscellaneous

All items under each heading are arranged alphabetically by author, or if anonymous, by title. In nearly every instance

the articles are illustrated with photographs and occasionally with a map or maps.

It is planned to list in this way from time to time articles found in other available periodicals.

I. NORTHERN HISPANIC AMERICA

A. *Southwestern United States*

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3. Judd, Neil M. Everyday life in Pueblo Bonito. XLVIII. (September, 1925), 227-262.
4. ————The Pueblo Bonito Expedition of the National Geographic Society. XLI. (March, 1922), 323-331.
5. ————Pueblo Bonito, the Ancient. XLIV. (July, 1923), 99-108.
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8. Newell, F. H. Mesa Verde. IX. (October, 1898), 431-434.

B. *Mexico*

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10. Birkinbine, John. Our neighbor, Mexico. XXII. (May, 1911), 475-508.
11. Bradley, Walter W. Some Mexican transportation scenes. XXI. (December, 1910), 985-991.
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15. Cummings, Byron. Ruins of Cuicuilco may revolutionize our history of Ancient America. XLIV. (August, 1923), 203-220.
16. Corey, Herbert. Adventuring down the West Coast of Mexico. XLII. (November, 1922), 449-503.
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III. HISPANIC AMERICA AS A WHOLE

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196. Page, James. The sailing ships and the Panama Canal. XV. (April, 1904), 167-176.
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DESCRIPTIVE CALENDAR OF SOUTH AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS

(Continuation)

CHAPTER III

1622-1662

(a) Don DIEGO FERNANDEZ DE CÓRDOBA,
Marqués de Guadalcázar, Viceroy

1622, August 22. No. 6. Group of ecclesiastical papers dealing with affairs of the Church and other Catholic institutions of Peru. The pages were originally numbered from 1 to 28 folios and begin with the following heading: "En El Ne De La Santissima trinidad y de la eternidad de la Gloriosa Virgen Santa Maria Madre de Dios Reina de los Angeles setaneos", etc. It contains several edicts, protocols of nominations, wills, petitions, and other documentary material. Signed by Don Pedro de Sal and other witnesses.

(MB, Vol. 3, Sotelo, 1642. Orig. tit: Testimonio. Doc. 75, pp. 1-56.) [21 x 31 cm.] P. 56 blank.

1622, September 1. No. 7. Act recording a sale by Juan de Tablares Coello to the church of Alto Perú (Bolivia). The title, as indicated on the last page of this paper, is "scriptura del señor Jn . . . en fauor de la capellania y capellanes de Pe Jn de Monroy de 50 p. cada año—corre desde Primo de Setebre deste año de 1622 a 26". Signed by Tablares and by Pedro de las Cuentas.

(MB, Vol. 3. *Ibid.* Doc. 78, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.]

(b) Don LUIS FERNANDEZ DE CABRERA,
Conde de Chinchón, Viceroy

1636, March 3. No. 8. Integral document of great importance for the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It concerns a litigation between Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and Don Luis Gerónimo Fernández de Cabrera, Conde de Chinchón, member of the council of war and peace of the royal legislature, lieutenant-governor and

1636, March 3.

captain general of the viceroyalty and the provinces of Peru, the Indies, and Chile. The manuscript is composed of thirty-two protocols, referring to commissions, possessions, quotations, contracts, treaties, memorials, correspondence, royal letters from Madrid, decrees, testimonials, nominations, accusations, discussions of boundaries, decisions, and executions. The title of this document reads "Los Srios del Audiencia". . . . "Don Pedro de Toledo y Leiva marques de Mansera Señor de asomecuillas y jurisdiccion comendador de lo Parragal en el conden[dad] de alcantara gentilhomme de la camara de Su magestad de Su consejo de guerra Virrey Lugarteniente governador y capitan general en estos Reynos y prouincias del Perú tierra firme y Chile U[lt]ra[mar] por cuenta de su magestad por su real cedula de uiente y sete de maio de seiscientos y trenta y uno", etc. Many personalities of the royal family as well as those of the Church of Spain and South America are involved in the litigation. The first part of this document was begun in La Ciudad de los Reyes (Lima) and completed in the Real Hacienda of La Paz. (MB, Vol. 3. *Ibid.* Doc. 81, pp. 1-124.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.]

(c) Don PEDRO DE TOLEDO Y LEIVA,

Marqués de Macera, Viceroy

1640, June 5.

No. 9. A registration of plenipotentiary power by Valuer Dean, commissary of the holy office of Alto Perú, nominating and giving power of executive in the bishopric of La Paz. Signed by Pedro de Mancaneda, notary public to the king.

(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 5, pp. 1-12.) [22 x 30 4/5 cm.]

1642.

No. 10. Lawsuit of Don Cristóbal Arias Sotelo. It consists of thirty-six documents and seventy-nine sections which deal with a covenant between the abovementioned Sotelo and the real audiencia. It contains several petitions, nominations, legal and personal authorizations, financial obligations and reports of great economic, historical, and political value, transactions, testaments, codicils, decrees, treatises, commercial and legal matters, court pronouncements, sentences and acts of execution, relations between families and politicians, grievances, postulates, and other untitled documentary material numbered from 1 to 5. The front page reads: "Testi-

1642.

monio De las Sentencias de vista y reuista en el pleito del Sindico, y maiordomo de nuestra señora de la concepcion. En Favor de Don Christoual Arias Sotelo De 1642. El qual Pleito Original quedo en el officio de Don Juan Girón de cabrera. 171''. This document is written by Don Juan Girón de Cabrera, secretary of the legislature of the royal audiencia of Alto Perú.

(MB, Vol. 3, Sotelo, 1642. Orig. tit. Testimonio. Doc. 74, pp. 1-140.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.] Seven pages blank.

(d) Don GARCÍA DE SARMIENTO,
Conde de Santisteban, Viceroy

1654, August 27.

No. 11. Will of the wealthy family Valverdi of Alto Perú. The manuscript, in perfect order, is composed of thirty-three acts, consisting of statements of property, of several financial reports, of nominations, authorizations, petitions, exonerations, postulates, decrees, executions, etc. Notable is the relation of the governor, Don Pedro de las Cuentas, and other members of his cabinet to the testament. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGUNDO, SEIS REALES AÑOS DE MIL Y SEISCIENTOS, Y CINQUENTA Y DOS Y CINQUENTA Y TRES". Stamped with the royal emblems and indicating "Para los años de 1654 y 1655". Signed by Don Pedro de Mancaneda, notary public.

(MB, Vol. 3. *Ibid.* Doc. 79, pp. 1-60.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.]

(e) Don JUAN ENRÍQUEZ DE GUZMAN,
Conde de Alba de Alista, Viceroy

1657, March 25.

No. 12. Business contract in legal juridical form, sealed: "Vn quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO AÑOS DE MIL Y SEISCIENTOS Y CINQUENTA Y QVATRO Y CINQUENTA Y CINCO". Legalized with three more stamps, two of which are emblems of the viceroyalty and the third one inscribed: "PARA LOS AÑOS 1656 Y 1657". Signed by the notary public, Pedro Mancaneda.

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 4, pp. 1-4.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

1658, July 12.

No. 13. Writs of the repartimiento Machaca la Grande.

(MB, Vol. 4. Misc., 1610-1813. Doc. 525, pp. 1-8.) [21 4/5 x 31 cm.]

- 1658, November 24. *No. 14.* Reports by Juan de Medina Navarete, corregidor y justicia mayor of Pacajes. They deal with Indian persecution. Among this group of documents are petitions from imprisoned caciques. (MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 526, pp. 1-8.) [21 4/5 x 31 cm.]
- 1658, November 28. *No. 15.* List of Indians who are being trained as state officers. (MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 527, pp. 1-4.) [21 4/5 x 31 cm.]
- 1658, December 3. *No. 16.* Statement in regard to Indians being trained for employment by the State. (MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 528, pp. 1-2.) [21 4/5 x 31 cm.]
- 1658, December 6. *No. 17.* Writs and petitions from Indians at San Andres. (MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 529, pp. 1-5.) [21 4/5 by 31 cm.]
- 1659, November 22. *No. 18.* Reports on the work done by Indians. (MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 530, pp. 1-5.) [21 4/5 x 31 cm.]
- 1659, December 10. *No. 19.* Writs [diligencias] of the repartimiento of Tiaguanaco in regard to *tercios de navidad* in the year 1657. This group is composed of twenty-seven protocols dealing with the following subjects:
- (a) "Autos" for the writs.
 - (b) "Nombramientos" of officials.
 - (c) Petitions from Indians.
 - (d) "Tercios de San Juan" in 1658.
 - (e) List of Indian subjects bound to personal service.
 - (f) "Notificaciones".
 - (g) "Reconocimientos" (in the sense of consideration and not recognition) of the claims of the Indians.
- The group of documents, including those herein considered under the period 1657-1659, have more interesting details with regard to the life of the Indians and their claims for social rights. There is also precise information on their economic status, on the wages they received for different services and also tables showing the taxes they paid to carry on agricultural and industrial work. (MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 531, pp. 1-36.) [21 4/5 x 31 cm.]
- 1660, May 6. *No. 20.* Memorandum of an inventory on refined silver in La Paz. Accompanied by two letters to court

1660, May 6.

officials. Signed by Andres de Cobarubias, Antonio Vaca de Villa, and Andres de Villegas.

(MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 521, pp. 1-10.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.] Seven pages blank.

(f) Don DIEGO DE BENAVIDES,

Conde de Santisteban, Viceroy

1660-[1661].

Some of these papers have been mended, as they were badly torn. The handwriting is that of Pedro de Mancaneda, and is characteristic of the "escritura cortezana" style.

No. 21. Papers relating to a suit filed against Captain Andres de Villegas by the Real Hacienda. The case deals with a rebellion of the Indians caused in the province of La Paz by the aforementioned captain. Sealed: "Un real. SELLO TERCERO, VN REAL AÑOS DE MIL Y SEISCIENTOS Y CINQUENTA Y DOS Y CINQUENTA Y TRES". Stamped with the emblems of the viceroyalty and inscribed "Sirbe de Sello Quarto Para Los Años de 1660 y 1661". The twelve writs of this group are signed by Don Alonso Feliz de Vargas Muxica and Luis de Toledo, and are legalized by Pedro de Mancaneda, royal notary public.

(MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 520, pp. 1-18.) [20 x 31 cm.] Two pages blank.

1660-[1661].

The manuscript is in good order, except for a large hole in circular form which seems to have served some office purpose. The hole extends over 151 pages.

No. 22. One hundred and ten documents concerning General Juan de Medrano Navarete. This soldier was at the head of many civil, military, and administrative activities in Alto Perú. Besides being a general, he was maestro de campo, corregidor y justicia mayor, lieutenant governor, and later governor of Pacajes(†). He died in the latter part of the seventeenth century and left a tremendous fortune in currency and real estate and buildings. The government's attention was called to the question of the general's wealth because of the friction among his heirs. Viceroy Benavides, therefore, appointed a committee to investigate the source of Navarete's wealth. Until the general's death, his wealth was entirely unknown to the public.

The documents in this group give a biography of the man as well as the investigations and discussions during the consideration of his case. Both sides of the question are presented. A number of official statements are included in the reports. The proceedings are also accompanied by the general's will, an inventory and estimation of the value of his possessions, and the bookkeeping accounts from his administration in Pacajes. Curious information comes out through statements in regard to

1660-[1661].

collections from different repartimientos and the taxes demanded from them. Sealed: "Un real SELLO TERCERO VN REAL AÑOS DE MIL Y SEISCIENTOS Y CINQUENTA QVATRO Y CINQUENTA Y CINCO". Stamped with the emblems of the viceroyalty, and inscribed "Para Los Años de 1656 Y 1657" and "Sirbe De Sello Qvarto Para Los Años de 1660 Y 1661". Seals of different patterns and dates appear, *e.g.*, p. 29, the seal is of a very interesting type, dated 1640-1641, and the emblems of the viceroyalty on this seal are very unusual. Another interesting seal is to be found in the last section, dated 1645. This group of documents was originally numbered from page 12 to 158. (MB, Vol. 4. *Ibid.* Doc. 522, pp. 1-296.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.] Thirty pages blank.

(g) REAL AUDIENCIA,

Government ad Interim

1662, May 22.

No. 23. Royal decree concerning the condition of the Indians in Alto Perú. The heading reads: "Cedula El sobre que lo Proscedido de Vacantes de encomiendas se aplica para la paga de las casas de aposento de los ss. re. de lo q̄ de yndios." Sealed as the previous document, but with an additional emblem of the province of Potosí. Signed: Yo El Rey Por mandado del Rey nuestro señor, Juan Bautista Saenz Nauarrete in Madrid, February 14, 1660, and confirmed "Concuerta Con su original que queda En la secretaria Secreta del sor Presidente Dor Don Bartolome de salazar Y al pie della parece estan cinco Rubricas diferentes", etc. by Luis Maldonado, scrivener to his Majesty in Villa de Potosí. (MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 3A, pp. 1-3.) [22 x 31 cm.]

CHAPTER IV

1678-1694

(a) Don MELCHIOR DE LINAN Y CISNEROS,

Archbishop of Lima, Viceroy

1678, April 28.

No. 24. A deed of inheritance by Licentiate Don Francisco Granero de Alarcón, cura and vicar of Coolana and by Licentiate Francisco Fernández Xirón, presbyter of the above place. Made in favor of Señor Doctor Don

1678, April 28.

Juan de Espinosa Salazar, dean of the Cathedral of La Paz and also for the benefit of Doña Ysabel de Pias Cuello. Other church dignitaries as well as Governor Don Pedro de las Cuentas Valverdi and Doña Juana de Osorio^a are connected with this deed. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO, SEIS REALES, AÑOS DE MIL Y SEISCIENTOS Y OCHENTA Y DOS, Y OCHENTA Y TRES". Stamped with the emblems of the viceroyalty, and inscribed "Para los años de 1684, 1685, y 1686". Signed by civil and military witnesses and confirmed by García de Marabosa, notary public for the king in La Paz.

(MB, Vol. 3, Sotelo, 1642. Orig. tit. Testimonio. Doc. 80, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.]

(b) Don MELCHOR DE NAVARRA Y ROCAFOLL,
Duque de La Plata, Viceroy

1682, January 20.

No. 25. Letter and petition by the Indian chief, Don Juan Choquiganca, cacique of the parish of San Pedro de La Paz. It is directed to Don Joseph Ozquiano, auditor and protector of the Indians in the environs of the same city. It deals with property, sales, and taxation. Page 5 is sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO VN QVARTILLO AÑOS DE MIL Y SEISCIENTOS Y SETENTA Y SETENTA Y VNO". Stamped with the emblems of the viceroyalty and inscribed "Para los años 1672 y 1673", and "1682 y 1683". The document looks as if it had been rescued from a fire and is incomplete. Page 8 has ornamental drawings. It is signed in three places by the notary public, Don Pedro de Mancaneda, royal scrivener.

(MB, Vol. 5, SL, 1682-1833. Doc. 82, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.]

(c) Don MELCHOR PORTOCARRERO,
Conde de la Monclova, Viceroy

1690, December 13.

No. 25, bis. Deed to real estate under the jurisdiction of Combaya. Sealed: Un real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1675-76". Stamped with the royal emblems and inscribed "Para los años de 1689 y 1690". Signed by Don Juan de Sossa.

(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 45, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 31 cm.]

^a Cf. p. 24, entry No. 11.

1691-[1692].

No. 26. Statistics [of the real] hacienda. This manuscript so entitled is a volume of unique and important documents, which were originally numbered from folios 1 to 196 but renumbered (by me) as 396 pages. All of them, rubricated and in perfect order, are written on very fine paper.

The documentary material of this volume concerns the treasury of the viceroyalty of Peru, giving detailed reports in a descriptive manner accompanied by tables of all kinds of income and state expenses. Every document considered below is signed by Don Manuel de Mariaca, chancellor of the royal exchequer.

Title Page: "1691-1692. Comun; General; de Hazunda; Real de Comttaduria [*sic*]; De cargo y dattas de los pessos de oro Barras y Reales y demas Generos que entran y Salen en esta Real caja de esta ciudad de Nuestra Señora de la paz; por quenta de su Magestad que corre desde ocho de nouembre de 1691 que entro exerser el ofisio de Comtador ofizial Real de dha Real caja el contador Dn Manuel de Mariaca en compaña del Thessorero Dn Franco Arias Maldonado hasta que Se siere [*sic*] la Carta quenta Binidera del año de 1692". (A green seal which is not quite clear appears under the title. It seems to be Nicolás Acosta's stamp to indicate his ownership of the volume.)

Pages 2-3 contain the table of contents of the volume which is divided into thirty-five sections, and is entitled "Tabla de los Cargos que Se contienen en este libro"; and "Tabla de los Pezos y Dattas que contiene este libro", with respective subtitles.

1691, February 2.

Page 73: Income from "Tributos Reales" by Captain Juan Alfonso Ferrer on the account of Bernardo Marcatola, cacique de Callape and General Bustios, corregidor of the province of Pacajes.

1691, April 5.

Page 45: A credit for the royal treasury from "quintos de Plata" on the account of Captain Don Balthazar de Llano y Astorga.

Page 65: A credit from "Santa Cruzada" by the above mentioned alcalde, whose payment was made in "barras" and in "granos".

1691, November 10.

Page 219: Income from "Yanaconas" (Indians bound to personal service in Peru during the time of the viceroyalty of Francisco Toledo) through Don Juan Barrio Nuevo, cacique of the parish of Santa Barbara; Don Marcos Chuqui Guanca, cacique of Mitimaes de Chucuyto in the province of Santa Barbara; Bernaue Quispe,

- 1691, November 10. cacique of Aylo Guanquillo in the parish of Santa Barbara, and from other Indians.
- 1691, November 20. Page 97: Income from "Nouenos Reales" by Francisco Gonzales of Mocomoco, Miguel Laurel de Nabamuel, and others.
- 1691, November 22. Page 107: Money appropriated for public functions by Maestro de Campo Don Pablo de Machicho y Zaraté, General Don Juan de Rossa, corregidor y justicia mayor of the province of Larecaja; Don Martín Fernández, governor of Monterrey; General Don Diego Vibanco y Billagomes, corregidor y justicia mayor of Caracollo, marqués de Oro Pesa; General Don Martín Delzo y Arbizu, corregidor y justicia mayor of Pau Caracollo; General Don Juan García de la Calle, corregidor y justicia mayor of Omasuyo; Licentiate Don Miguel Galaz de los Rios for the bishop of Limosna; Captain Antonio de Osco y Banez; General Don Pecho Romero for General Don Bernabe Felipe; and Licentiate Sebastián Carasco.
- Page 169: A report of duties collected and sent in by Cacique Francisco Gonzales of Mocomoco; Don Juan Girón, solicitor of the college of the Society of Jesus; Dr. Don Gerónimo de Canisares Ybara, canonist of the Church of Alto Perú; Don Joseph Alejos, governor and cacique of Pucarani; Señor Don Martín Flores Sirena; and Doctor Juan de la Cruz, cacique of Charasani.
- 1691, November 23. Page 5: Contains the credit of income for the royal treasury from "quintos de oro" on the account of Captain Juan Balberde.
- 1691, December 8. Page 261: Record of salaries and wages of state officers paid to Juan del Salto, state secretary; Ignacio de Galarza, state treasurer; and other cabinet members as well as army and navy officers, etc.
- 1691, December 20. Page 251: Income from mines from the "aziento" of Merenguela at Veta, called Señora Santa Ana, San Pedro, and San Antonio de Padua, sent in by Don Gregorio Ximenes Ledron de Guebara.
- 1691, December 26. Page 273: Record of duties from fishing and hunting collected by Captain Joseph Bidangos and others.
- 1692, January 10. Page 203: Income on taxes from butcher shops collected by Captain Juan Munis de Castro and Licentiate Don Joseph Vargas y Villagomes, Captain Domingo Martines de Valle, and General Don Jaime Bemeres de Urrea and others.
- 1692, January 12. Page 153: A credit from "alcaualas reales" by Captain Francisco Pérez, Maestro de Campo Gregorio Timexo, Captain Antonio de Osio Ybañes, and others.

- 1692, February 8. Page 209: Income from official stationery and seals sent in by Captain Don Pedro de Toledo y Leiba in charge of sealed stationery and head of the royal exchequer.
- 1692, March 1. Page 235: Income from "guarda de apie" sent in by Dr. Don Geronimo de Canisares Ybarra and other officials.
- 1692, March 20. Page 137: Income from "Terzios de Encomiendas" by Marquesa Villa Hermosa from her "repartimiento" sent by Don Joseph Canqui, governor and cacique of Tiaguanaco, Captain Miguel de Mariaca, and other officers.
- 1692, April 5. Page 193: Report of taxation from residuary estates by Don Balthasar de Llano y Astorga, alcalde and justicia mayor.

The rest of the volume consists of records of income from the same sources but from different provinces and locations. In the previously mentioned thirty-five sections there are more than 150 acts which cover only a year's time but are nevertheless unique. Almost every act is accompanied by tabular calculations, summaries of the different taxations, and tables of total receipts. The very complete information which is given on the various sources of financial income, on the industrial, commercial, and agricultural locations, on the distribution of taxation under different titles and various currency, and on the machinery of collection, constitutes the importance of the documentary material in this volume. The treatment of the Indians in Spanish America by the Spaniards is discussed at length. The main controversy between Spanish and other European historians has been over the accusation that the Spanish monarchy treated the Indians inhumanely. Such an accusation is historically untrue as far as the governments of Madrid and some of the South American viceroys are concerned. However, income accruing to the government from enslavement of Indians is clearly pointed out in this volume, and it seems that it was Don Melchor Portocarrero, duque de La Plata, conde de Monclava (the twenty-third viceroy, 1689-1705) who permitted this practice during the period considered in this volume. If it be true that the viceroy disobeyed the traditional policy of Madrid for the liberty of the Indians in all Spanish possessions in America, it was from necessity. Two years before the beginning of his reign, October 20, 1687, a terrible earthquake occurred in Lima which resulted in the death of

- 1692, April 5. 1100 people in Lima and in Callao. Owing to the shortage of Spanish inhabitants caused by this disaster, it was necessary to compel the Indians to help in the reconstruction of the devastated cities in these countries. (MB, Vol. 6. Statistics [Hacienda] 1691-1692. Doc. 97, pp. 1-396. [22 x 31 cm.] One hundred and eighty-four pages blank.
- 1693, October 10. No. 27. Legal record of real estate, dividing property between heirs. Heading: "Instrumento de Chuquilaya—Centorvaya". Contains a list of names of New Christians, descendants of families of Castile and Portugal, who were persecuted by the inquisition; also names of farms, roads, and villages, many of which exist no longer. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO SEIS REALES, AÑOS DE MIL SEISCIENTOS Y NOVENTA Y DOS, Y NOVENTA Y TRES". Legalized with the emblem of the viceroyalty and made in the name of Lucas de Soza of the province of Larecaja. (MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 6, pp. 1-14.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1694, circa. No. 28. A poem or part of one consisting of 24 manuscript lines and beginning: "Conties Pajaros la fiesta", etc. It is divided into five stanzas, four of which have five lines, and one four lines. Signed by P. Gerónimo Granero Diego, etc. (MB, Vol. 2, Sotelo, 1642. Orig. tit. Testimonio. Doc. 76, pp. 1-1 1/2.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1694, circa. No. 29. An ecclesiastical letter relating to the previous document. It occupies the second half of the page which contained the poem. Signed by Maiordomo Bartolomé. (MB, Vol. 2, Sotelo, 1642. Orig. tit. Testimonio. Doc. 77, 1/2 page.) [30 1/2 x 21 1/2 cm.]

CHAPTER V

1695-1706

 REAL AUDIENCIA,
 Government ad Interim

- 1695-[1706] No. 30. Ledger of unique material on the financial affairs of the province of La Paz and of its surrounding territories. This volume was originally numbered from folios 1 to 237, but renumbered (by me) as 482 pages. It is made up of two divisions with thirty-nine sections containing a total of about 355 records.

1695-[1706]

Title page: "Comun General de Contador. De Cargo y Datas de los pesos de Oro Barras Reales y demas gastos que entran y salen, de esta Real caja de la Paz por cuenta de su Magestad que Corre desde primero de Mayo de 1705, que se serro [sic] la Carta cuenta hasta que se despache la Venedera y viene Dusientas treinta y siete foxas numeradas y todas rubricadas del General Don Benito Gonzales de Santalla Secretario de su Magestad Corregidor y Justicia mayor de esta Ciudad de nuestra señora de la Paz y de nos el Thesorero Don Franco de Azcarruna y Contador Don Domingo de Lizarraze y esta y La Vltima firmada de todos tres". Each sheet is rubricated with the flourishes of the three signatories mentioned in the Spanish text, thus making the documentary material in this volume official.

First Division: 25 Sections, pp. 7-326.

Section 1, pp. 7-42. Heading: "Cargo de los Pesos que entran en esta Real caja por cuenta del efecto de Quintos de Oro que Corre desde 1o de Mayo de 1705 que se zerro [sic] la carta cuenta Hasta que se depache la Venidera". Twenty-four records dealing with taxes from "quintos de oro" (a duty of 20 per cent on prizes) paid to the Spanish monarchy: (a) General Don Benito Gonzales de Santalla, corregidor y justicia mayor of La Paz reports payment in meat and lard as an equivalent of the taxes due the Spanish government in gold. This payment was made by the miners of Omabamba in the province of Sicasica, and the government disposed of these goods through public auction; (b) Licentiate Don Joseph Erasmo de la Torre, curator and rector of the cathedral of La Paz, makes a statement that he has collected taxes from the miners of Supichuli of the province of Larecaja; (c) This and the record following it refer to the same type of taxes as was dealt with in (a), but the taxes were paid by Don Juan de Loaysa of Yani. More statements are given by General Don Manuel Francisco de Velarde of the Order of Santiago (corregidor y justicia mayor) on gold contributions from the miners of Yllimani and of Omabamba of the province of Sicasica; by Maestro de Campo Don Miguel de Mariaca on collections from Asiento de Yani; by Captain Don Juan de Loaysa from miners of Lloa; by Don Esteban Samorano from miners of Rio de Chuquiaguillo; by Captain Francisco Pérez de Uria from different mining towns of Larecaja; by Don Antonio

1695-[1706]

Roman Aulestia from farmers of Abentadero; by Don Juan Antonio from miners of Yllimani; by Don Bernardo de la Lastra from miners of Pacocota of the province of Sicasica; by Don Gregorio Graçia Ytinco from miners of Coaquilata of Larecaja; by Captain Juan Antonio de Argandona; and by General Don Diego Martínez de Baygorri (corregidor y justicia mayor) of Larecaja; (d) Record of a flattening of gold, followed by a tabular summary of all incomes mentioned in this section, which ends with the following statement: "Suman las partidas del Cargo de este Libro del efecto de quintos de oro al Veinteauo y uno y medio por Siento de Couos un mil y Nuebe Castellanos de oro de sus Leyes y Setecientos Veinte y tres pesos y seis rreales Corrientes de a ocho".

Section 2, pp. 43-62. Five records dealing with revenue from virgin silver and from quicksilver. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Quintos de Plata", etc. These reports are by Don Ysidro Ortiz de Aro, appropriations from the miners of Carangas, Corocoro, and others; by General Don Juan Esteban de Ullo y Echeuerria whose collections were from the miners of Colquiri, Zasari, and Viscachani; by Captain Juan Argandona who purchased these minerals from Pedro Antonio de Caserez, owner of a large silver mine in Corocoro in the province of Pacajes; by Captain Don Pedro de Toledo who handled the minerals in Colquiri, Zasari, and Viscachani of the province of Sicasica. The section concludes with a tabular summary listing the revenue received from this source of income, and ends with the following statement: "Suman las partidas del Cargo de este Libro del efecto de quintos de Plata un mil nouesientos treinta y ocho pesos sinco tomines dos granos y medio ensayados de a 250 mvs y tresientos y dies pesos y quatro rreales Corrientes de a ocho".

Section 3, pp. 36-74. Four entries relating to revenue from *bullas* (fees paid by the church for the privilege of issuing ecclesiastical bulls). Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Santa Cruzada", etc. The returns from these *bullas* are accredited to Licentiate Don Juan Antonio Cajal and to Captain Don Diego Esteban Guterrez. The tabular summaries accompanying these records give fullest details on the cost and on the quantity of *bullas* issued. The section concludes thus: "Suma la partida del Cargo de este Libro del

1695-[1706]

efecto de Santa Cruzada mil trescientos ochenta y ocho pesos cuatro reales y medio Corrientes de a ocho".

Section 4, pp. 75-102. Nine registries which record income from royal tributes. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por cuenta del efecto de Tributos Reales", etc. The revenue was turned over to the Caja Real by the following officials: General Don Antonio Carnero, corregidor y justicia mayor of the province of Omasuyo; Captain Don Pedro Gallego and General Don Domingo Maldonado y Sotomayor, corregidor y justicia mayor of Paucarcolla; General Joseph de Acuña, corregidor y justicia mayor of the previous province; General Don Juan Eusebio Daualos, corregidor y justicia mayor of the province of Caracolla; General Don Diego Martinez de Baygorri, corregidor y justicia mayor of the province of Larecacha; Don Andres Fernández Girón, captain of the real hacienda; and General Don Manuel Fernandes de Velarde, corregidor y justicia mayor of Paucajas. The types of revenue herein treated fall into the following classes: (1) Tributos Reales por aumento; (2) Tercios de Nauidad; (3) Guarina Tributos Reales; (4) Tributos Reales por Yanacunas; (5) Tributos Reales de toda la provincia; (6) Tributos Reales por Expolios del año de mil setecientos y cuarto. The tabular summary contains full details on the amounts and the sources of these revenues, and concludes with this statement: "Suman las partidas del Cargo de este Libro del efecto de Tributos Reales Veinte mil trescientos dos pesos y tres reales y medio Corrientes".

Section 5, pp. 103-112. Nine entries which set forth the following types of revenue:

(1) Novenos Reales por cumplimiento de deudas imposed by General Don Pedro Luis Enríquez, Visitador of Llay-Reco; (2) Diezmos por cuenta de rematos which occurred in the Valley of Caracato in the province of Paucarcolla; (3) Diezmos de los Yungas; (4) Diezmos del valle de Coroyco por cuenta de los novenos; (5) Diezmos de los Yungas Chapez. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por cuenta del efecto de Novenos Reales", etc. The tabular summary includes the usual statement, "Suman", etc. "del efecto de Novenos Reales tres mil quinientos y cinco pesos siete y medio Corrientes de a ocho".

Section 6, pp. 113-140. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "del efecto de Exrio", etc. Twenty-eight memoranda, under the following titles, dealing with special funds: (1) Especies de quinaquitaras from the Indians of the

1695-[1706]

same name in the pueblo of Hachacañe in the province of Omasuyo; (2) *Especies de Hilauaya* for a new encomienda of Indians which was given to Señora Duquesa de Alburquerque; (3) *Especies de San Juan* collected by General Don Antonio Carnero, corregidor y justicia mayor of the province of Omasuyo; (4) *Especies del Marques de Oropesa* for encomiendas and repartimientos; (5) *Especies vacantes* by General Don Joseph Acuña and Conde de Castellan; (6) *Especies por las fuerzas del reino* and for the encomiendas of the pueblo Guancane, owned by the aforementioned duchess; (7) *Especies de deudas antiguas* formulated by Licentiate Don Augustin de Macuaga, presbyter of the cathedral of La Paz; (8) *Especies de censo de Copacauana* formulated by Don Juan Muños de Castro, captain of the army of Alto Perú; (9) *Especies de los Indios quinaquitaras* by Teniente Don Joseph de Vera Villavisencio of Omasuyo; (10) *Especies de los Indios Yayes*; (11) *Especies de los Indios del pueblo de Ytalaque* and of Utjaca; (12) *Especies de defensa del reino*; (13) *Especies de tercios de navidad*; (14) *Especies de los Yungas Chapez*; (15) *Extraordinario del Colegio Real de San Felipe de Lima*; (16) *Extraordinario por tributos vacos* by Doña Andrea Jacoua de Garay; (17) *Extraordinario* from the encomiendas of Conde de Santisteban; (18) *Extraordinarios* from the cacique class (*cacicaazgo*) of San Pedro and of Santiago; (19) *Extraordinario* from the pueblo and repartimiento de Jesús de Machaca; (20) *Extraordinarios* from the Hospital Misericordia de Santa Ana of Lima; (21) *Extraordinario* from the convent Santissima Trinidad of Lima; (22) *Extraordinarios* from Marqués de los Valles. Many other kinds of *especies* and *extraordinarios* occur in this section, and each has its specific tabular summary. The concluding statement reads: "Suman . . . del efecto Extraordinario Diez y seis mil Nouesientos treinta pesos dos rreales y medio Corrientes de a ocho".

Section 7, pp. 141-148. Three registries of taxes received from vacant property in various *doctrinas*. The heading of the section is "Cargo", etc. "del efecto de Vacante de Doctrinas", etc.

Section 8, pp. 149-158. Ten records disclosing tercios taxes from encomiendas held by institutions, government officials, and private owners. The heading reads: "Cargo", etc. "del efecto de Tercios de Encomiendas", etc.

1695-[1706]

Section 9, pp. 159-166. Four protocols dealing with ordinary taxes from various provinces. The heading states: "Cargo", etc. "del efecto de Alcaualas", etc.

Section 10, pp. 167-172. Two registries of income from land transactions. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Composiciones de Tierras", etc.

Section 11, pp. 173-188. Eighteen memoranda dealing with general and special revenues from *lanzas* in various Indian pueblos. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Lanzas", etc.

Section 12, pp. 189-196. Six entries of revenues from remaining taxable objects. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Residuos", etc.

Section 13, pp. 197-204. Fourteen reports of taxes received from old and new butcher shops. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Asogues atrasados, y modernas", etc.

Section 14, pp. 205-210. Two entries of revenue from sealed stationery. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de papel Sellado", etc.

Section 15, pp. 211-214. Three records of taxes on wines and other liquors. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de la Sissa", etc.

Section 16, pp. 215-240. Fifty-two records of taxes on Yanacunas. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Yanacunas", etc. This section gives information on the location and the ownership of Indian slaves in Alto Perú. It also sets forth details on the *cacicazgo* of various tribes. The tabular summary gives the exact amount of the duties on Indian slaves. The concluding statement is "Suman... del efecto de Yanacunas tres mil setesientos y quatro pesos Corrientes de a ocho".

Section 17, pp. 241-248. Seven entries of revenue from *Guarda de a pie* and also income from *tercios* de San Juan. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de la Guarda de Apie", etc.

Section 18, pp. 249-254. Four protocols of income from taxes on mines in Larecaja, Santa Rosa de Alcapata, and Lauandiri. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Minas", etc.

Section 19, pp. 255-262. Twelve records of income taxes on monthly wages. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Messadas", etc.

Section 20, pp. 263-266. Three registries of taxes

1695-[1706]

from grocery stores. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Pulperias", etc.

Section 21, pp. 267-274. Six reports of semi-annual taxes on the first fruits or emoluments which a benefice or employer produced. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Medias anatas", etc.

Section 22, pp. 275-282. Eight entries of taxes on different offices. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Oficios", etc.

Section 23, pp. 283-290. Six memoranda of taxes on vacant property belonging to various bishoprics. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta . . . de Vacante Obis-pal", etc.

Section 24, pp. 291-296. Three entries of revenue from taxes on municipal gifts. Heading: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta . . . de Donatino", etc.

Section 25, pp. 297-326. Seventeen records of revenue from warrants issued to landlords for the expulsion of tenants. Revenue collected by Doctor Don Jeronimo de Canisares Ybarra, Dean de la Santa Yglecia Cathedral de La Paz, Provisor y Vicario General en el Ley su obispado y comisario del santo officio de la Ynquisicion. The heading reads: "Cargo", etc. "por quenta . . . de Expolios", etc. More officials of the kind previously mentioned, as well as lists of outstanding personalities of civil, ecclesiastical, and military rank appear in this section. With this, the first division of this volume ends.

Second Division: 14 Sections, pp. 327-482.

Section 26, pp. 327-342. Nine records, with tabular summaries of government expenditures for the smelting of gold and for the purpose of amassing gold for the government treasury. This section has the following heading: "Data de los pesos que se pagan en esta Real caja del efecto de quintos de oro que corre desde 1o de Mayo de 1705 que se serro la carta quenta Hasta que se despache la Veniderna".

Section 27, pp. 343-362. Eighteen protocols dealing with government disbursements from the financial departments to: (a) Licentiate Don Pedro Balthazar Merino de Heredia for church purposes; (b) For public improvements; (c) For payment of damages; (d) To Bishop Dr. Don Nicolás Urbana de Mata and others for various and sundry purposes. Heading: "Data", etc. "por quenta del efecto de Hazienda Real", etc.

Section 28, pp. 363-370. Four registries of 7,011

1695-[1706]

pesos as an outlay for *lanzas*. Heading: "Data", etc. "por cuenta . . . de Lanzas", etc.

Section 29, pp. 371-374. Five records of government disbursements for Indians bound to personal service. Heading: "Data", etc. "por cuenta de . . . Yanaconas", etc.

Section 30, pp. 375-392. Eleven entries of money set aside by the government for special expenses. Heading: "Data," etc. "por cuenta . . . de Extraordinario", etc.

Sections 31-36, pp. 393-436 deal with *datas* for government maintenance of the following revenue departments:

(1) Residuos; (2) Tercios de encomiendas; (3) Sissas; (4) Composiciones de Pulperias; (5) Horden del Tribunal de la santa Cruzada de la ciudad de los Reyes; (6) Expolios. These sections contain complete details as to the amounts and destinations of the government expenditures.

Section 37, pp. 437-452. Heading: "Remision de Carta quenta a Lima". A detailed report of the following remittances to Lima:

(1) Quintos de oro al ventauo y vno y media por Ciento de couos; (2) Quintos y Couos de Plata; (3) Santa Cruzada; (4) Tributos Reales; (5) Nouenos Reales; (6) Extraordinarios; (7) Santissima Trinidad de Lima; (8) Misrecordia Santa Anna de Lima; (9) Colegio Real San Phillippe de Lima; (10) Thesorero de la fabrica de la Santa Igleçia Cathedral de Lima, Don Domingo de Argandona; (11) Duquesa de Albuequerque—Fuersas del Reino; (12) Conde de Castellan fuersas del Reino; (13) Don Gonzalo Pacheco de la Vega—fuersas del Reino; (15) Marques de los Valles—fuersas del Reino; (16) Don Francisco Mesia Ramon; (17) Su Magestad; (18) Azoguez atrasados; (19) Azogues modernos; (20) Tercios de encomiendas; (21) Alcaualas; (22) Composicion de tierras; (23) Lanzas; (24) Residuos; (25) Vacante de doctrinas; (26) Papel sellado; (27) Sissa; (28) Yanaconas; (29) Guarda de Apie; (30) Minas de su Magestad; (31) Mesadas ecclesiasticas; (32) Composiciones de pulperias; (33) Medias anatas; (34) Officios; (35) Vacante obispal; (36) Donatiuos; and (37) Expolios.

The section concludes with a statement on the total amount of the remittances sent to Lima.

Section 38, pp. 453-480. Heading: "Sumario Ge-

1695-[1706]

neral de las partidas de cargo de este Libro comun y general del Contador''. The heading is followed by a tabular summary of the incoming revenue treated in this volume. On the reverse side of the page is a tabular summary of the government expenditures. On page 455 appears a general descriptive summary of the gold equivalents received and emitted.

Section 39, pp. 481-482. An official statement as to the legality of this volume, formulated by General Don Benito Gonzales de Santalla, secretary to his majesty, corregidor y justicia mayor of La Paz, and chief justice of the royal court; Don Francisco de Arcarrunez, treasurer of the caja real and Don Domingo de Lizarraga, auditor of the caja real in La Paz. These officials are also the signatories of the records in this binder.

The contents of this volume as a whole form an important record of the financial transactions of Alto Perú, giving complete data on the income and expenditures of the viceroyalty during the years 1695-1706. The volume is also an index to the many classes of objects, institutions, etc., that were taxed at that time. The complete list of persons, places, and industries furnishes a vivid picture of the economic machinery of this period. Although the binder bears the dates 1705-1706, the records within contain material as early as 1695.

(MB, Vol. 7. LALP, 1695-1706. Orig. tit. "Paz 1^o de Mayo de 1705 a 1706. Libro Comun Genl de Conor de la Ciudad de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, que Corre desde 1^o de Mayo de 1705 en adelante''. Doc. 307, pp. 1-482.) [20 1/2 x 30 1/2 cm.]

(To be continued)

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RECENT ACCESSIONS OF GERMAN BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS REFERRING TO HISPANIC AMERICA

Books in German treating of Hispanic America have recently been added to the Library of Congress as seen below. Most of them have been published within recent years.

Baldus, Herbert: *Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco*, von Herbert Baldus. Leipzig, C. L. Hirschfeld, 1931.

viii p., 1 l., 230 p. illus. (incl. map) VIII pl. on 4 l. (*Added t.-p.*: Forschungen zur völkerpsychologie und soziologie ... bd. XI)

"Anhang: Ein besuch bei den Guarani-Indianern des paulistaner küstengebiets": p. [203]-216.

"Literatur": p. [218]-225.

Blunck, Hans Friedrich: *Aus der brasilianischen reise*, von Hans Friedrich Blunck. Berlin, Weltgeist-bücher verlags-gesellschaft m. b. h. [1926]

99, [1] p. [Weltgeist-bücher. nr. 157-158]

Bonsels, Waldemar: *Brasilianische tage und nächte*, von Waldemar Bonsels und freiherr Adolph von Dungern. Mit 52 bildern in kupfertiefdruck. Berlin. R. Hobbing [1931]

188, [1] p. incl. plates.

The first two chapters are by Bonsels, the rest mainly by Dungern. Cf. Zum geleit, p. [3]

Breuler, Bernardo: *Im lande des Silberstromes; Argentinien, land und leute*, von Bernardo Breuler. Mit einer karte. 1. bis 3. tausend. Berlin [etc.] Morawe & Scheffelt, 1926.

221 p, double map.

Brokamp, Josef: *Das gemässigte, Brasilien als auswanderungsland für den deutschen landwirt. Als bericht einer studienreise gegeben von dr. J. Brokamp ...* Vechta i. O., Verband landwirtschaftlicher kleinbetriebe, 1924.

2 p. l., 36 p., 2 l. front., plates.

"Literatur": p. [37]

Burger, Friedrich: *Im herzen Sudamerikas unter deutschen siedlern*. München-Grünwald, H. Lhotzky [1928]

130 p. plates.

"Mein hauptreisegebiet war die republik Paraguay."

Bürger, Otto: *Acht lehr- und wanderjahre in Chile*, von professor dr. Otto Bürger. Mit 36 vollbildern und 2 abbildungen im text. 2. wesentlich umgearbeitete und ergänzte aufl. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1923.

xv, 534 p. illus., plates. (1 double).

—Aus den jagdgründen der zwielichtwälder; fahrten und abenteuer eines deutschen naturforschers zwischen Magdalena und Orinoko. 2. aufl. Leipzig, Deutsche buchwerkstätten, g. m. b. h., 1928.

- 191 p. front., illus. (incl. map) plates. (*Half-title*: Durch steppen und urwald. [bd. 9])
- Aus der wildnis des Huemuls; erlebnisse und abenteuer unter den kolonisten und Indianern Chiles. Dresden, Verlag deutsche buchwerkstätten, 1924.
- 191 p. front., illus. (incl. map) plates.
- Venezuela; ein führer durch das land und seine wirtschaft, von prof. dr. Otto Bürger. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1922.
- vii, [1], 272 p. incl. tables, diagrs. fold. map.
- “Quellen”: p. [263]-264.
- Paraguay, der “garten Südamerikas”; ein wegweiser für handel, industrie und einwanderung, von prof. dr. Otto Bürger. Mit acht graphischen tafeln und einer karte. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1927.
- viii, 280 p. incl. tables. map, diagrs.
- “Quellen”: p. [267]-268.
- Peru; ein führer durch das land für handel, industrie und einwanderung, von prof. dr. Otto Bürger. Mit einer karte, 16 graphischen tafeln und 3 figuren im text. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1923.
- viii, 294 p. incl. tables. fold. map, diagrs.
- “Quellen”: p. [274]-276.
- Burkart, Walter: Der reiherrjäger vom Gran Chaco, als jäger und goldsucher vom Amazonas zum La Plata, von Walter Burkart. 2. aufl. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1932.
- 197, [1] p.
- Colditz, Rudolf F. von: Unter gauchos und siedlern in Argentinien, von Rudolph von Colditz. Berlin, Safari-verlag [1928]
- 260, [1] p., 1 l. illus. (maps) plates, ports.
- “2. auflage.”
- Danzel, Theodor Wilhelm: Handbuch der präkolumbischen kulturen in Lateinamerika, von dr. Theodor-Wilhelm Danzel ... Mit 2 karten, 1 tafel und 88 abbildungen im text. Hamburg und Berlin, Hanseatische verlagsanstalt, 1927.
- 136, [2] p. front., illus. (incl. 2 maps) (Veröffentlichungen des Ibero-amerikanischen instituts. Bibliothek der ibero-amerikanischen auslandskunde Reihe A: Handbücher)
- “Ausgewählte werke für weitere studien”: p. [132]-133.
- Dedekind, Max: Brasilien, das ziel deutscher auswanderer und die deutsche evangelische kirche in Brasilien. Von p. M. Dedekind. Zur jahrhundertfeier deutscher einwanderung in Brasilien. Elberfeld. Evangelische gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Südamerika, 1924.
- 64 p. illus.
- Degener, Otto: Auf glücksuche nach Südamerika, von Otto Degener. Berlin, Safari-verlag, g. m. b. h. [1925]
- 2 p. l., 7-153 p., 1 l. illus.
- “1. auflage.”
- Illustrated by Egon Tschirch.

Deutsch-argentinisches addressbuch. Buenos Aires [19

v.

"Ueberreicht vom verlag der zeitschrift 'Phoenix' des Deutschen wissenschaftlichen vereins."

Dieseldorff, Erwin Paul: Kunst und religion der Mayavölker II; die Copaner denkmäler, von E. P. Dieseldorff . . . Mit 38 abbildungen im text und auf 24 tafeln. Berlin, J. Springer, 1931.

2 p. l., 44, [2] p. illus., 24 pl.

Descriptive letterpress on versos facing the plates (except pl. 22-23)

"Sonderabdruck aus Zeitschrift für ethnologie, 1930, heft 1/6."

Domville-Fife, Charles William: Unter wilden am Amazonas; forschungen und abenteuer bei kopfjägern und menschenfressern. Mit 36 abbildungen und 6 karten. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1926.

269 p. front., illus., plates, maps (1 fold.)

At head of title: Charles W. Domville-Fife.

Edschmid, Kasimir: Glanz und elend Süd-Amerikas, roman eines erdteils. Frankfurt am Main, Societäts-verlag, 1931.

497, [1] p. illus. (maps) plates.

CONTENTS—1. t. Ueber Westindien, Venezuela, Panama, Kolumbien und Ekuador.—2. t. Ueber Peru.—3. t. Ueber Bolivien.—4. t. Ueber Chile.—5. t. Ueber Argentinien.—6. t. Ueber Brasilien.—7. t. Wohin mit Südamerika?

Fändrich, Hans: Argentinien die kornkammer der welt als ziel für auswanderer, touristen und geschäftsreisende sowie als absatzgebiet für deutsche erzeugnisse, von Hans Fändrich. Buenos Aires, H. Fändrich, 1924.

62 p.

—Brasilien, das land der reichthümer und naturschönheiten als ziel für auswanderer, touristen und geschäftsreisende sowie als absatzgebiet für deutsche erzeugnisse, nebst einer kurzen landeskunde, von Hans Fändrich. Buenos Aires, H. Fändrich, 1924.

64 p.

—Chile, genannt der letzte winkel der erde, als ziel für auswanderer, touristen und geschäftsreisende sowie als absatzgebiet für deutsche erzeugnisse, nebst einer kurzen landeskunde, von Hans Fändrich. Buenos Aires, H. Fändrich, 1924.

47 p.

—Meine ersten monate in Argentinien, geschrieben von einem Deutsch-Südamerikaner. Dresden, Rudolf, 1924.

80 p.

Subtitle on cover: Erfahrungen und ratschläge für auswanderer.

"Bücher-liste für die leser des buches 'Meine ersten monate in Argentinien'"; p. [78]-80.

Fiebig, Adolf: Etwas über Brasilien, von Adolf Fiebig. Dresden und Leipzig, E. Pierson [1926]

2 p. l., 157 p.

Gerdess-Höne, Willi: Vier jahre in Südamerika; selbsterlebtes und beobachtungen

eines Deutschen in der nachkriegszeit, von Willi Gerdes-Höne. Quakenbrück, R. Kleinert, 1924.

108, [2] p.

The author visited Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Argentine republic.

Gheri, Leopold: Der schwarze jaguar; reiseerlebnisse im brasilianischen hinterlande und anderes; erzählungen für die jugend, von Leopold Gheri und Franz Hillmann. Mit vier bunten bildern und schwarzen textillustrationen. 7-13. tausend. Leipzig, A. Anton & co. [1928]

62, [1] p. col. mounted front., illus., plates (part col. mounted)

The illustrations are head and tail pieces.

Illustrated lining-papers.

Hanstein, Otfried von: Auf der jagd nach dem goldenen kaziken; die erste deutsche kolonie der Welser in Venezuela 1527 bis 1555 und die eroberungszüge des Ambrosius Dolfinger, Nikolaus Federmann, Georg Hohermut von Speier und Philipp von Hutten, nach den alten berichten des Antonio de Herrera, Bartolomé de Las Casas und Hieronymus Bentzon von Meyland und den forschungen neuerer gelehrter, geschildert von Otfried von Hanstein. Mit sechs reproduktionen von alten originalstichen, 24 text-illustrationen und einer karte mit eingezeichneten reisewegen. Lipzig, Leipziger graphische werke, a. g. [1929]

254 p. illus. (incl. map). (Sammlung interessanter entdeckungsreisen . . . bd. 7)

Hartmann, Otto: Südamerikanische studien- und geschäftsreise: Brasilien, Uruguay, Argentinien, von Otto Hartmann. Heilbronn [Selbstverlag, 1928]

51, [1] p.

Hauff, Walter von: Im kampf mit Indianer und gaucho; deutsche ansiedler in Argentinien, von Walter von Hauff. Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang [1925]

133, [1] p. (*Added t.p.*: Deutsche in aller welt; abenteuer und leistungen Deutscher im auslande . . . [1])

—Was hat der argentinienfahrer zu erwarten? Mit einer karte von Argentinien und den neuesten passvorschriften für reisen nach Argentinien. Berlin, Bernard & Graefe [1924]

54 p. illus. (map).

Herzog, Theodor: Bergfahrten in Südamerika. Mit 12 kupfertiefdrucken, 32 tafeln auf kunstdruckpapier, 3 karten, 2 panoramen. 2. aufl. Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder, 1925.

xvi, 212 p. front., illus. (maps) plates (1 fold.).

“Schriften-verzeichnis”: p. 211-212.

Junken, Heinrich: Argentinien im alltagskleid; eine fundgrube alles wissenswerten, von Heinrich Junken. Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder [1928]

viii, 280 p. fold. map.

Katz, Richard: Schnaps, kokain und lamas; kreuz und quer durch wirres Südamerika, von Richard Katz; mit 31 tafeln und 3 karten. Berlin, Ullstein [1931]

250, [6] p. front., illus. maps) plates.

Keilhack, H.: Rund um Südamerika mit dem kreuzer “Berlin”, von H. Keilhack,

kapitänleutnant und s. zt. art.-offz. auf kreuzer "Berlin". Mit 104 abbildungen. Charlottenburg, Verlag Offene worte, 1926.

230 p. incl. front., illus.

Kende, Oskar: Brasilien; landeskundlich-wirtschaftsgeographische uebersicht, von prof. dr. Oskar Kende . . . Hamburg, Hanseatische verlagsanstalt, 1925.

148 p. maps (1 fold.). (Kaufmann und weltwirtschaft)

"Uebersicht des wichtigsten schrifttums": p. 7-8.

Köhler, Albert: Reporterfahrt ins neue Südamerika; 34 reisebriefe, "Zwischen Rhein und La Plata", mit 46 abbildungen, von Albert Köhler. 1. aufl. Duisburg, Echo-verlag, 1928.

264 p. incl. front. (port.) illus., plates.

The author traveled in Brazil, the Argentine republic, and Uruguay.

Lamm, Hermann: Auswanderungsmöglichkeiten in Argentinien, von Hermann Lamm. Dresden, E. Pierson, 1929.

178 p.

Landenberger, Emil: Brasilien und ich; reisen und abenteuer in Brasilien und Paraguay. Mit einem bildnis des verfassers. Stuttgart-Cannstatt, E. Landenberger, 1929.

166 p. front. (port.).

At head of title: E. Landenberger.

Leichner, Georg: Wandernde steine, von Georg Leichner. 1-12. tausend. Leipzig, W. Goldmann [*1929]

221, [1] p. plates.

Lütgens, Rudolf: Die ABC-staaten (Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile), ihre wirtschaftsgeographische und weltwirtschaftliche bedeutung, mit 22 karten, von dr. Rudolf Lütgens . . . Berlin, Zentralverlag, g. m. b. h., 1930.

104 p. 22 illus. maps). (Weltpolitische bücherei . . . bd. 19. Länderkundliche reihe)

"Schriftenauswahl": p. 100-102.

Advertising matter: p. 103-104.

Mossig, Theobald, ritter von: Brasilien; kritische studie, von Theobald ritter von Mossig. Leipzig, O. Weigel [*1930]

96 p.

"Auflage 300 exemplare."

Michael, Otto: Erinnerungen aus Süd-Amerika; dr Paul Hahnels letzte reise nach dem Amazonas! von Otto Michael, Sprottau-Eulau, Wilhelmshütte. [Frankfurt a. M., Verlag des Internationalen entomologischen vereins, 1928]

3 p. l., [5]-96, [2] p. plates.

Butterfly collecting in northern Brazil and Peru.

Müller, Wilhelm: Das schone Südamerika; reisen in Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile und Perú, von dr. Wilhelm Müller, Zürich. Mit 284 abbildungen auf tafeln. Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder [1928]

xv [1], 164, [2] p. front., plates, ports.

Nordenskjöld, Otto: Südamerika, ein zukunftsland der menschheit; natur, mensch, wirtschaft, von professor dr. Otto Nordenskjöld. Mit 75 abbildungen auf

tafeln, 2 textbildern und 8 karten. Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder [1927]
xi, [1], 244, [1] p. front., illus. (incl. 8 maps) plates.

"Die berechtigte übersetzung aus dem schwedischen besorgte dr. Ignaz Schlosser."

"Eine vollständige umarbeitung einer . . . in Stockholm erschienenen arbeit [Människor och natur i Sydamerika, 1923]"—p. vii.

Ottmann, Victor: Der orchideenjäger; erlebnisse und abenteuer im tropischen Amerika, von Victor Ottmann. Mit neun bildern und einer karte. Dresden, Verlag Deutsche buchwerkstätten, 1922.

159 p. col. front., plates. (*Half-title*: Jäger und forscher . . .)

Panhorst, Karl Heinrich: Deutschland und Amerika; ein rückblick auf das zeitalter der entdeckungen und die ersten deutsch-amerikanischen verbindungen unter besonderer beachtung der unternehmungen der Fugger und Welser, von dr. Karl H. Panhorst. München, E. Reinhardt, 1928.

xi, 308 p.

Pohlman, Adolf: Werde- und wanderjahre in Süd-Amerika; erinnerung eines deutschen kaufmannes, von A. Pohlman-Hohenaspe. 3. erweiterte aufl. Itzehoe, G. Martin, 1926.

231 p.

An account of the author's travels in Brazil, beginning in 1878.

Pölnitz, Albrecht, *freiherr* von: Buenos Aires und zurück; bilder, skizzen und notizen von einer Südamerikafahrt, von dr. Albrecht frhr, von Pölnitz. Königsbrück i. Sa., A. Pabst, 1929.

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Up de Graff, Fritz W.: Bei den kopfjägern des Amazonas; sieben jahre forschung und abenteuer. Mit 31 abbildungen und einer karte. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1924.

326 p. front. (port.) plates, map.

At head of title: F. W. Up de Graff.

The author traveled in Colombia, Brazil, and Ecuador.

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CONTENTS:—Nord-Amerika.—Mexiko.—Mittel-Amerika.—Süd-Amerika.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES

The well-known Colombian jurist and historian, Antonio José Uribe has just published a treatise of great value to those interested in the relations between Colombia and the United States, namely, *Colombia y los Estados Unidos de América* (Bogotá, 1931). The work deals at length with such topics as the negotiations preceding the construction of the Panama Canal, the separation of Panama from Colombia, and the international economic status of Colombia. Dr. Uribe has had a long and distinguished public career as rector of the Faculty of Law at Bogotá, president of the senate, minister of public instruction and foreign affairs, and member of the permanent court of arbitration at The Hague. Among his other writings should be mentioned his *Colombia y el Perú* (Bogotá, 1928), a detailed study of the boundary problems of the two countries.—P. A. M.

Recent and contemporary history of Chile, particularly in its economic and social aspects, is discussed by Carlos Keller R., *La eterna Crisis Chilena* (Santiago de Chile, Nacimiento, 1931).—P. A. M.

A *Catálogo das Obras de Ruy Barbosa*, consisting of 226 pages, has been prepared by Baptista Pereira (Rio de Janeiro, 1929).—P. A. M.

The brilliant young Uruguayan writer and historian, Ariosto D. González, has performed a useful service in assembling and publishing the works of the distinguished Uruguayan jurisconsult Justino E. Jiménez de Aréchaga. Volume I of his *Obras Completas* has appeared under the title *Temas Americanas* (Montevideo, Casa A. Barreiro y

Ramos, 1930). The present volume falls into two sections. Part I, entitled *Estudios Históricos* contains the following essays or addresses: "Mitre y el albaceazgo de la Revolución"; "Homenaje a Mitre"; "Orígenes Hispanos del Derecho de América"; "El general Enrique Martínez"; and "El Centenario de la Independencia Nacional". Part II, *Cuestiones Internacionales*, treats of the following topics: "Por la Defensa Nacional"; "Política Continental Americana"; "Homenaje a Saénz Peña y Ruy Barbosa"; and "La Embajada Extraordinaria al Perú". The work is prefaced by an appreciative biographical study by Sr. González.—P. A. M.

Those interested in disentangling the threads of Uruguayan political history and particularly the perennial conflicts, both military and political, between the Colorados and Nationalists or Blancos will find a wealth of material in two very voluminous and equally eulogistic biographies of the leaders of the two parties recently published in Montevideo. Roberto B. Giudici, the author of *Batlle y el Batllismo* (Montevideo, Imprenta Nacional Colorada, 1928), in a book of over 1200 pages treats in great detail the life and activities of Sr. José Batlle y Ordóñez, for many years titular head of the Colorado party. The chief value of the work consists in the hundreds of extracts from Batlle's writings and speeches as well as from those of his opponents. (A sketch of the career of Batlle, who died in 1929, was written by the author of this memorandum for the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for November, 1930). Sr. César Pinto Diago is the author of the standard biography of the leader of the Nationalist or Blanco party, namely, *Luis Alberto de Herrera, su Vida, sus Obras, sus Ideas* (Montevideo, García, 1930). This book is more carefully written than the one on Batlle, and is in the nature of a full length biography. While it deals at great length with the political activities of Dr. de Herrera it unfortunately neglects his many contributions to the literary and historical fields. Among the works in the latter domain may be recalled *La Revolución Francesa y Sud América* (1910); *El Uruguay Internacional* (1912); *La Diplomacia Oriental en el Paraguay* (5 vols., 1908-1926), a comprehensive survey including such interesting sub-titles as "Buenos Aires, Urquiza y el Uruguay", "La Clausura de los Ríos" and "El Drama del 65 (la culpa Mitrista)"; and *La Misión Ponsonby* (2 vols., 1930).—P. A. M.

In the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* (Berlin, October, 1930) is a series of studies on the pre-Columbian inhabitants of Guatemala ("Die Vörspanische Besiedlung Guatemalas").—P. A. M.

The *Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay* for 1930 (Vol. VII.) contains an interesting article, namely, "El Río de la Plata visto por viajeros alemanes del siglo XVIII, según cartas traducidas por Juan Muhn, S. J."—P. A. M.

The First International Congress of Colonial History was held in Paris, September 21-25, 1931. Three of the Hispanic American states, Brazil, Chile and Colombia, were represented. There were also delegates from Spain, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Haiti. One of the most notable papers read was that of Miss Irene A. Wright on "Materials on English Colonial History in Spanish Archives". It is assumed that most of the contributions will appear in the *Revue d'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*.—P. A. M.

To the January (1932) number of *Books Abroad* (published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla.), the famous Mexican writer and educator, José Vasconcelos, has contributed a brief article entitled "Why I became a magazine editor". In this he explains the campaign against "North-American imperialism" which he is carrying on by means of his magazine *La Antorcha* published in Paris. He also gives an interesting autobiographical statement.—P. A. M.

The well-known Spanish littérateur, Luis Araquistain, has recently published two books dealing with Hispanic America: *La Agonía antillana* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1928) and *La Revolución Mexicana—sus Orígenes, sus Hombres, su Obra* (Madrid, C. I. A. P., 1929). The first is an indictment of "North-American imperialism"; the second a somewhat over-enthusiastic account of recent developments in Mexico.—P. A. M.

A second and revised edition of the *Historia de Sarmiento* by the Argentine essayist and critic, Leopoldo Lugones, has been published (Buenos Aires, Babel, 1931).—P. A. M.

The ex-president of Brazil, Washington Luis Pereira de Souza, since his overthrow in 1930 a voluntary exile in France, has broken his self-imposed silence to defend his much attacked financial administration. He is the author of an explanatory volume dealing with that phase of his administration entitled *Soldos orçamentários em 1927, 1928 e 1929 no Brasil. Declarações do Snr. Washington Luis, ex-presidente da República sobre sua Gestão financeira* (Paris, Paul Dupont, 4 rue de Bouloi, 1932).—P. A. M.

The November (1931) number of the *Antología Jurídica* of Buenos Aires has as its leading article an essay by Sr. Juan Carlos García Santillán entitled "Aspectos económicos de la legislación española sobre los Indios del Río de la Plata durante el Siglo XVI".—P. A. M.

The Paulista writer, Snr. José Maria dos Santos, in his *Política Geral do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1931), has published a detailed study of the political evolution of the Brazilian Republic designed to place the revolution of 1930 in its true setting. A review of this important work will appear in a later number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.—P. A. M.

Professor Rafael Altamira has found time amid his multitudinous duties as dean of Spanish historians and member of The Hague court of international justice to prepare a one volume *Histoire d'Espagne* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1931). This book is by no means a condensation of the well-known *Historia de España* but contains much new material and brings the story of Spain down to April 15, 1931. Thanks in part to the fact that it is written in French this new book should find a wide circle of readers.—P. A. M.

Manuel González Prada, the famous Peruvian radical whose writings exercised an immense influence on the generation following the War of the Pacific, has found a worthy biographer in Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Don Manuel* (Paris, Excelsior, 1931). An appreciative essay entitled "Ubicación Sociológica de González Prada" appears in the most recent work by the Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre, *Perú: Problema y Posibilidad* (Lima, Rosay, 1931).—P. A. M.

A notable addition has been made to the somewhat scanty monographic literature on Ecuador through the publication by Abel-Romeo Castillo of *Los Gobernadores de Guayaquil del Siglo XVIII* (Madrid, Imprenta de Galo Saéz, 1931). Utilizing materials in the Archives of Seville, Madrid, and Simancas, as well as data in Guayaquil and Quito, the writer has analyzed in detail the achievements of the five military governors who ruled Guayaquil from 1763 to 1803. His work constitutes a welcome addition and supplement to the classic history of González Suárez, *Historia general de la República del Ecuador* (7 vols., Quito, 1890-1903). Professor Rafael Altamira has written an appreciative prologue.—P. A. M.

The "debunking" process applied to historical characters, which has enjoyed a certain popularity in the English-speaking world, has invaded the field of Argentine historiography. Sr. Sigfrido A. Radaelli in his *Capítulos de Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, Lajouane, 1931) has set about to knock from their pedestals a number of great figures of Argentina's early history, especially Liniers, Moreno, and Pueyrredón. The book contains four essays or chapters: "Estado de las Indias", "Pródornos de la Revolución Argentina", "Virreinato de Liniers", and "La Cuestión de las islas Malvinas". The writer claims that the famous revolution of May 25 was merely a "motín" and little more than a "cambio de personas". He further declares that the famous *Representación* of Moreno was little read and had scant influence. Whether one agrees with his conclusions or not—and a number of Argentine critics have violently dissented—his new approach, based on careful investigations of the sources, is very stimulating. In the December, (1931), number of *Megáfono*, of which Sr. Radaelli is director, he has contributed an article entitled "La irreverencia histórica". In this he suggests that the iconoclastic movement has only begun:

Yo espero ver derrumbar alguna vez una ingeniosa construcción de nuestros antepasados, demasiadamente ampliada hasta estos días: la intervención del pueblo, la soberanía incipiente, la democracia, etcetera, que se ha señalado como existente desde 1806 hasta 1810 en la historia del Plata.

The development and amplification of Sr. Radaelli's methods hold out interesting possibilities.—P. A. M.

In 1909, there was established in Paris, under the presidency of the well-known publicist and historian M. Gabriel Hanotaux, an organization known as the "Comité France-Amérique" for the purpose of strengthening the cultural bonds between France and the various states of the new world including Hispanic America, the United States, and Canada. Under its patronage has appeared a number of publications both in the shape of books and periodicals with which the Hispanic American specialist should be familiar. The organization's program for the future is also worth noting. Under the general caption of "Bibliothèque France-Amérique" may be singled out: Comte de Périgny, *La République de Costa-Rica* (1918); Cecilio Baéz, *Le Paraguay* (1927); J. Humbert, *Histoire de la Colombie et du Venezuela* (1921); Alcides Argüedas, *Histoire de la Bolivie* (1923); Leonardo Peña, *Histoire du Chili* (1927); and Emile R. Wagner, *L'Allemagne et l'Amérique Latine* (1918). The following works on individual countries are in preparation: Hugo D. Barbagelata, *L'Uruguay*; Francisco García Calderón, *Le Pérou*; M. de Pimentel-Brandão, *Histoire du Brésil*; Cristóbal Gangotena, *Histoire de l'Equateur*; Julio Noë, *Histoire de la République Argentine*. In the collection "Editions France-Amérique" should be mentioned: J.-L. Manan, *Le Problème Agraire Argentin* (1914), and Hugo D. Barbagelata, *Jacques de Liniers et la Réconquête de Buenos Aires* (1927). This last work has not been regularly published but copies may be secured directly from the Comité France-Amérique. Mention should also be made of a work now in press, forming a part of the Bibliothèque Américaine de l'Institut des Études Américaines, namely that of Professor B. Mirkine-Guetzevitch, *Constitutions des Nations Américaines*. Finally, attention should be directed to the monthly review *France-Amérique* published directly by the Comité France-Amérique and the weekly *Journal des Nations Américaines* published under the auspices of the same committee. The headquarters of the Comité France-Amérique are 9, Avenue Victor-Emmanuel, Paris (III).—P. A. M.

The Brazilian sociologist, Manoel Bomfim, in his latest work has made a devastating analysis of the political and social ills under which Brazil has long suffered: *Brasil na Historia. Deturpação das Tra-dições. Degredação política* (Rio de Janeiro, 1931). Bomfim will be

remembered as the author of *A America Latina* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.), a sociological study tending to prove that the civilization of Hispanic America is purely "parasitic". A review of Bomfim's new book will appear in a later number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.—P. A. M.

A posthumous work of the late Brazilian historian Capistrano de Abreu, *Caminhos, Antigos e Povoamento do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930) contains interesting and valuable data on the exploration of Brazil during the colonial period and particularly on the achievements of the "Bandeirantes".—P. A. M.

A new edition of the work of the Viscount de Taunay, *Servidores Ilustres do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1931), makes available important biographical material on a number of outstanding statesmen and political figures of the empire.—P. A. M.

One of the latest volumes in the series "Vidas españolas e hispano-americanas del siglo XIX" is that of H. Portell Vila, *Céspedes, el Padre de la Patria Cubana* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1931).—P. A. M.

Mrs. Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez, the well-known writer on early California, has made a charming addition to the literature on California under the Spanish and Mexican régime in her *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, Powell Publishing Company, 1929). Despite its popular style the work is based on careful historical investigation.—P. A. M.

The Archivo General de la Nación Argentina has published an unusual work of great historical interest entitled *La Bandera Nacional: su Origen. Documentos Oficiales* (Buenos Aires, 1931). The work consists of facsimilies of 44 documents having to do with the history of the national flag and covering the years 1812-1818.—P. A. M.

The Spanish historian and man of letters, Sr. Gonzalo de Reparaz has just published a second and expanded version of his *Páginas Turbias de Historia de España* (2 vols., Barcelona, Ediciones Mentora, 1931). The first edition which appeared in 1896 has for several years

been out of print. In this suggestive and stimulating work Sr. Reparaz has broken completely with the conventional treatment of Spanish history. His thesis appears in his preface:

España es una península africana ligada a Europa por el istmo pirenaico . . . La misión de España era mediar entre los dos continentes y las dos civilizaciones en ellos nacidos. Debía conciliar, completar, amalgamar.

The Spanish people is of African origin and has suffered the imposition of the beliefs and institutions of a Germanized Europe. This forced injection of an extraneous element has brought about a psychological degeneration, accompanied by the violent elimination of the most intelligent and active portions of the indigenous population. The Christian *Conquista* (falsely called the *Reconquista*) was a tragic mistake for which Spain is still paying the penalty. Sr. de Reparaz is a prolific writer. Among his longer works may be mentioned *La Guerra del Paraguay* (1901), *Política de España en África* (1907), *La Constitución Natural de España y las de Papel* (1928), and *Geografía y Política* (1929). This last book was reviewed in the August, 1930 number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Sr. Reparaz should not be confused with his son Gonzalo de Reparaz (hijo) who is the author of an imposing number of books on geography and maritime exploration written both in Spanish and Catalan.—P. A. M.

"The Medical Literature of Guatemala" is the title of an interesting and important article published by Mr. Nathan Van Patten, Director of Libraries at Stanford University, in Volume IV. of the *Annals of Medical History* (pp. 91-100) and reprinted (1932) for private circulation with a special title page. It will be recalled that Mr. Van Patten's earlier researches in the history of medicine in Hispanic America, entitled "The Medical Literature of Mexico and Central America" was commented upon in the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for November, 1931 (pp. 555-556). The present article contains an account of the first Guatemalan medical publication, a work by José Felipe Flores, entitled *Espicífico nuevamente descubierto en el Reyno de Guatemala para la Curación radical del horrible Mal de Cancro* (Guatemala City, 1782). The pamphlet was also published in Mexico City under the same date. Mr. Van Patten has included in his article a translation of Flores's pamphlet, the first to be made. It should be of considerable interest to medical his-

torians; certainly it is to laymen. The "Específico" described by the learned physician, who was a surgeon in the hospital of San Juan de Dios for twenty-two years and professor of medicine in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala, is a kind of lizard which the Indians of San Cristóval Amatitán use as a remedy for ulcers, buboes, and even cancer. The lizards are eaten raw while their flesh is still warm. Flores gives a number of instances of remarkable cures and the publication of his pamphlet aroused wide interest among the members of the medical profession. The Spanish text was reprinted in Madrid, Cádiz, and Malaga; Italian and French translations were published in 1784 and a German edition in 1788. A number of these editions published in Europe contain accounts of remarkable cures in Italy and Spain through the use of these lizards. In fact, there was a marked rise in lizard mortality shortly after 1782 as these animals were being devoured "as nearly alive as possible" in various parts of the world, even in Sweden. Mr. Van Patten suggests that bio-chemists of the present time might well investigate the secretions of these lizards whose use aroused such high hopes in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The second portion of Mr. Van Patten's paper deals with a work by the Guatemalan surgeon, Narciso Esparragosa, who published the earliest paper upon the obstetrical forceps used today: *Memoria sobre una invención fácil y sencilla para extraer las Criaturas clavadas sin Riesgo de la vida, ni Ofensa de la Madre* (Guatemala City, 1798). According to Mr. Van Patten, Esparragosa is still revered in his native country as a beloved physician whose skill was available alike to all classes. On his death in 1819, he bequeathed to the Escuela de Medicina his medical library of some six hundred volumes, a remarkable collection for those days. At his own request this great physician was buried in the potter's field. Mr. Van Patten expects to pursue his investigations in the history of medicine in colonial Spanish America and is about to publish a paper setting forth certain previously unrecorded facts concerning the discovery of quinine and its use in medical therapy.—P. A. M.

Dr. Mary Katherine Chase, of the History Department of the University of Hawaii, has just published an important monograph on the foreign relations of Texas: *Négotiations de la République du Texas en Europe, 1837-1845* (Paris, Champion, 1932). Thanks to the re-

searches of the late Professor E. D. Adams, the relations between Texas and Great Britain are thoroughly understood; a similar service has been rendered by Miss Chase in the case of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, as a result of her researches in the archives at Paris, Brussels, and The Hague. The appendix contains thirty-nine hitherto unpublished documents. It is unnecessary to add that scattered throughout the material unearthed by Miss Chase are numerous references to Mexico.—P. A. M.

Sr. Roberto Levillier, formerly Argentine minister to Poland and now accredited to Czechoslovakia, gave during the spring of the present year at the Sorbonne in Paris ten lectures on the general topic: "La Conquête et la colonisation de l'Amérique espagnole au XVI^e siècle". It is assumed that these lectures will eventually appear in book form.—P. A. M.

Dr. Afranio Peixoto, professor in the University of Rio de Janeiro and president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, is the author of *Nocões de Historia de Literatura Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, Alves, 1931). This excellent manual, in which considerable space is devoted to the influence of the United States on the literary development of Brazil, will be reviewed in a later number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.—P. A. M.

In the March (1932) number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Dr. Lillian E. Fisher has an interesting article on "American Influence upon the Movement for Mexican Independence". The article is based in large part on materials in the Archives of Seville.—P. A. M.

One of the greatest surprises and disappointments which students in the field of Hispanic American affairs have had recently is the first issue of the *Pan-American Dispatch* which before it appeared was widely heralded as a magazine to which scholars and students interested in Hispanic America would contribute and which would be of great value in promoting inter-American friendships. The first number of volume I dated April 1932, however, proves to be a pictorial ballyhoo lauding the honorable James Curley, Mayor of Boston, and

the managing editor of the periodical, Mariano Laos Lomer. Among the articles of this tabloid is one entitled "Reminiscences" written by the editor, which if taken as an example of what is to be expected in future articles, will in a very short time lead the periodical to its ruin. The whole issue is interspersed with poorly arranged advertisements, and the format is unfortunate, being wholly alien to the American type of journalism.—A. C. W.

Old Mother Mexico, by Harry Carr (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., [c1931], pp. lv, (2), 270 illus., \$3.00) is happy in its name. The volume is written by a journalist who has an unbounded admiration and sympathy for Mexico. He is imbued with the deep historical significance of Mexico and its inner spiritual meaning, on which he insists. The recrudescence of the old Indian forces he welcomes, quite contrary to the fear expressed by Sr. T. Esquivel Obregón.¹ Mr. Carr is keenly alert to the possibilities of Mexico and predicts a glorious future for it. The history of the United States west he says quite truly began in Mexico rather than in the frontier towns in the Mississippi Valley. The west really began with the Coronado expedition and the later expeditions of Spanish cavaliers and missionaries continued that history. While Mr. Carr is not always sound in every respect in his history, his book is never dull and radiates a good humor that is infectious. His descriptions are excellent. It is a pity the book has no index, for the author touches on many things of interest. He quotes with feeling the remark of a young Mexican (p. 202):

There is nothing so important in the world, as that there should be a complete understanding between Mexico and the United States. Europe is dying in her ashes—in her old hatreds. It is for our two countries to make a new world over here. That is for us to work out. It is being worked out in two ways—by the Mexican boys who go to the United States as children and return here with a complete appreciation of your people. The other way is through the American travelers who are coming to Mexico to look and understand and go home to relate what they have seen. They are coming in increasing numbers every year and are going home—knowing what is in our hearts.

¹ In this REVIEW for May, 1919 (II. 135-172). He says on p. 166: "Superstition and vain show; the Indian mind winning at last, and invading unnoticed, cunningly penetrating the pores of the social organism, through the impulse of the politician, thus producing at the same time ethical and economic ruin for lack of that selective action in society which would have conduced to the triumph of the fittest!"

Books of this type are needed not only for Mexico but for all of Hispanic America. Friendships among the nations of the Americans can only be formed on the basis of confidence and mutual respect.

Land of Wonder and Fear by F. A. Mitchell-Hedges, a member of the Maya Committee of the British Museum, and well known as an archaeologist of Middle America, was published by the Century Co. in 1931 (pp. xviii, (2), 263, \$4.00). This is an interesting account of the travels of himself and Lady Richmond Brown in Central America (including British Honduras)—both old campaigners in the wilds and jungles of tropical America. The author has conducted various expeditions for the British Museum and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation). He shared with the veteran Dr. Gann in the discovery and exploration of the great Maya ruins of Lubaantun in British Honduras (Dr. Gann's book was noted in a recent number of this REVIEW). On the trip described in the present volume, the author and Lady Richmond Brown located extensive ruins which have not yet been opened—an evidence that many discoveries still await the student of the archaeology of Central America. The result of this trip was the collection of many specimens for the British Museum and some animals for the Zoölogical Society of London. The book is well named, for Mr. Mitchell-Hedges has excellently shown the beauties of the jungle as well the obstacles that must be encountered, and the closeness of life to death. The book has an interest to the historian as well as to the archaeologist.

E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., have brought out a new edition (1931; \$3.00) of Mme. Calderón de la Barca's charming *Life in Mexico during a Residence of two Years in that Country*. This edition, which has an introduction by Henry Baerlein, was sponsored by the Junior League of Mexico City. The letters of Mme Calderón de la Barca were first published, it will be remembered, on the recommendation of William H. Prescott. This book since it was first published, has never lost its charm and still has a large public. That a new edition could be placed during the present crisis speaks well for the continued appeal of the volume. It has always been a favorite among Mexicans.

Agnes C. Laut, the publicist, who has done so much to stimulate an interest in history, has written an excellent and instructive popular

volume in her book *Pilgrims of the Santa Fe* (Frederick A. Stokes, 1931, pp. x, 363). This historic trail she defines as beginning "with the tramp of the Spanish conquerors from Pensacola, Florida, and from old Mexico City", although it is generally thought of as crossing the territory lying between the Mississippi and Santa Fe (p. 4). The twenty chapters have been divided into nine main parts: The Spanish Conquerors; The French open a caravan to Santa Fe; A stormy interlude; The Mormons on the Pilgrim Trail; Here come the Caravans; The American army on the Santa Fe Trail; Army Annals of the Santa Fe; New Migrations on the Holy Trail; When Rails come on the Pilgrim Way of the Holy Faith. There is no original research in this volume, but it is a stimulating piece of work, for it shows certain forces that have been active in the development of the United States. The author is led into several indiscretions that might easily have been avoided, as for instance, causing Cabeza de Vaca to be sent to Brazil after returning from his marvelous march (p. 25). In the St. Denis episode, she has let the romantic element play too large a part. But from the advent of Coronado to the Mormons, other settlers, U. S. soldiers, the Mexican war, she has set down much that is valuable—all readily obtainable elsewhere it is true, but here brought together in a way easy to read. The volume is a good introduction to more detailed study, in which one will forget the matter of a trail and watch the unfolding of events of importance, which are part of a large whole. The account is not a unit, but a series of events and pictures, in which the author has been content to touch and dwell on the high spots. She has made good use of the element of contrast offered by the changing scenes of a developing civilization. It would be a volume to read as one travels on to Santa Fe.

The Arthur H. Clark Co., which has lately removed from Cleveland to Glendale, California, published a volume in 1928 by Carl Coke Rister, of Simmons College, entitled *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881* (pp. 336, \$6.00). The territory embraced in the volume is the southwestern frontier in 1865, and comprehends the territory north of the Red River the present Oklahoma, western Texas, and New Mexico. The volume is well written. For the student of Hispanic American history it has almost nothing of interest beyond the territory itself which was once Spanish. This same company, it

should be noted, is publishing the new *Review of Pacific Coast History*.

Aids in the studying of Spanish have been multiplying rapidly in the United States, and it is probable that Spanish as compared with the study of other foreign languages in this country is more than holding its own. Professor S. L. Millard Rosenberg of the University of California at Los Angeles has been active in presenting good texts. In collaboration with Professor Ernest Templin, of the same university, he has brought out *A Brief Anthology of Mexican Verse* and *A Brief Anthology of Mexican Prose* (both published in 1928 in the "Stanford Spanish Series" through the Stanford University Press. In collaboration with Professor Frederick T. McKeon, of the University of Notre Dame, he has published (New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1929), *Páginas místicas, Selections from the Writings of D. Manuel Romero de Terreros*; and in collaboration with Sra. María López de Lowther, of the University of California at Los Angeles (Heath & Co., 1931), *Rubén Darío, Poetic and Prose Selections*.

The *Catholic Historical Review*, for October, 1931, publishes an article entitled "The earliest Catholic activities in Texas", by Carlos E. Castañeda.

The *Buletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Caracas), for June 30, 1931, has the following of interest: "La muerte de Jonkeer van Shiers", by C. Parra Pérez; "El Día Histórico", by José E. Machado; "Vocabulario Indígena", by Aristide Rojas; "Diario de Bucaramanga"; "Bibliografía del Centenario de la Muerte del Libertador".

The *American Historical Review* for July, 1931, has an article by Arthur Scott Aiton, namely, "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession".

John Vanderveer Deuel, in *Indians, Crocodiles, and Monkeys* (New York, The Century Co., [1913], pp. viii, 247, \$2.00), writes of a cruise made in a private yacht under most pleasant circumstances from California through the Canal and Gulf and Caribbean region, and, Florida, and then back to California. The author was taken on

the cruise as interpreter and radio operator. The volume is an account of what he saw and his adventures. The volume is probably to be regarded as a source for entertainment. Some of the descriptions are excellent.

George Brydges Rodney has written a romance called *Edge of the World* (Duffield & Green, 1931, pp. 225, \$2.00) which has to do with early Maya days. Taking his cue from Origen's testimony that Paul of Tarsus preached the gospel as far as the "Islands of the West", a note in Volume IV. of Bancroft's *Native Races*, to the effect that García, in his *Origen de las Indias* (1530), reported the discovery of a Roman galley of the time of Caesar Augustus near Panama, and the old native tradition that bearded white men who had come to them over the eastern sea would return, Mr. Rodney has written a stirring story of Paul, a Roman centurion, and the Mayas—a good fantasy with no historic interest.

The Magic Tooth and other Tales from the Amazon, by Ellis Spicer Eells (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1930, pp. viii, 243, \$2.00) contains twenty-six folk tales from the Amazon region. The main interest in the stories is the persistence of old beliefs. The stories are well told, a number of them being echoes of old tales related by the old chroniclers. It would be of interest to make a comparative study of these stories.

It is not uncommon to find stories published in the United States in English depicting some form of Spanish-American life. Stories concerning Brazil are infrequent. In 1930, Little, Brown and Co., however, published an interesting, though somewhat immature, story by Albert E. Bailey, namely, *Call of the Rio Bravo* (pp. 283, \$2.00). This is a story for boys and is laid in the lumber regions; and is an adventure story pure and simple. It has one great distinction, however, in that the Portuguese introduced into the mouths of the characters is correct. Too often, publishers seem not to insist upon the correct use of foreign languages in the novels issued under their imprint; and they must share joint responsibility with the authors in foisting inaccurate forms upon their public. The accuracy of the Portuguese in Mr. Bailey's story is gratifying.

The Library of Congress has lately acquired a facsimile copy of *De Antiquitatibus Novæ Hispaniæ authore Francisco Hernando Medico et Historico Philippi II. et Indiarum omnium Medico primario. Codice de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid*. It was published in Mexico, Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historica y Etnografía, 1926. The library also has acquired a copy of the Códice Kingsborough, *Memorial de los Indios de Tepetlaozloc al Monarca Español contra los Encomenderos del Pueblo*. Primera parte. This was published at Madrid in 1912.

Professor Percy Alvin Martin, of Stanford University, is preparing a *Who's Who in Hispanic America*. This manual, which will be published by the Stanford University Press, will contain some twenty-five hundred biographies of the outstanding men and women now living in Brazil, the Spanish-American republics, Haiti, and Porto Rico. Professor Martin will welcome suggestions from readers of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW regarding names of eminent persons whose names should be considered for inclusion in the volume.

INDEX TO VOLUME XII

- ABDICATIONS:** by Pedro I., 196, 196 n.
- Abernon, Viscount d': activities, 95; cited, 97, 98-99.
- Abreu, Capistrano de: book reviewed, 333-6.
- Abuses: reform in, of Ind., 323.
- Academia de la Historia (Madrid): investigates charges against Mier, 359-60.
- Accounts: of various repartimientos, 377-86.
- Acosta, Nicolas (Bolivian scholar): various relatives, 244; makes manuscript collection, 244; description of it, 246-59; its dispersal, 248 n; exiled, 246; death, 247; sketch, 244-7; calendar of his MSS., 242-59, 376-386, 505-21; cited, 246, 246 n; letter to, cited, 247.
- Adams, Charles Francis: cited, 146 n.
- Adams, Harriet Chalmers: cited, 90 n.
- Adams, Henry: cited, 162 n, 163 n, 164 n.
- Adams, John: activities, 146.
- Addison, Taylor C.: book noticed, 262-3.
- Agents: Williamson acts as, 149-50, 160 (*see also* Williamson); of Napoleon, 170; from Buenos Aires, 174; Fr., in Sp., 270, 272; for citizens of Santo Domingo, 303; Winder invited to become, 458-9.
- Agriculture: war destroys, 12.
- Aguiar, A. A. de: cited, 177 n, 191 n.
- Augustín I. (of Mex.): Iturbide becomes, 40 (*see also* Iturbide).
- Aiguillon, Duc d': apptd minister, 271 n; letters to and by, cited, 276 n.
- Aiton, Arthur Scott: article, 269-80; cited, 269 n.
- Akers, Charles Edward: cited, 3 n.
- Alajuela, Costa Rica: importance, 25.
- Albuquerque, ———: letter to, cited, 6 n, 11 n.
- Alcott, M.: cited, 236.
- Algiers: O'Reilly fails in, 278; Fr. opinion of, 278-9.
- Algunos Documentos:* cited, 410 n.
- Allies: in S. Amer., 10-11; Sp. and Gt. Brit. become, 171.
- Almagro, Diego de: of low extraction, 287.
- Almarár, Pedro de: activities, 254-5.
- Altamira Crevea, Rafael: note rdg., 101-2; book noticed, 532.
- Alvarado, Pedro de: in lawsuit, 487.
- Alvarez Chico, Juan (conquistador): activities, 481, 488.
- Alvear, ———: praised as leader, 296.
- Alves, Rodrigues (pres. of Brazil): Root visits, 434 n.
- Amendments: to Braz. constit'n., 189 n.
- America: attitude of republics of, 2; position of U. S. in, 4-5; nations in, can choose form of govt., 9; reactionary movements in, 29; Williamson sails for, 153; O'Reilly in, 279; society degenerates in, 287; eom. of discussed, 424; modern trend of, discussed, 434 n. *See also* all other American catchwords; and the various countries of the western hemisphere.
- America, Anglo: insistence of, causes resentment, 11-15; war with Sp., threatened, 166; settled by families, 287; continues colonial institutions, 290; patriotism in, 291. *See also* United States.
- America, Central: national origins, 18-45; isolated settlements in, 18; reason for five countries, 18; divided into separate states, 43, 45; lack of treasure in, 18; pop., 18-20; how Span. formed, 21; becomes govt. unit, 21; broken into sub-units, 21-2; not a real unit, 25; nationalities in, discernible,

- 25; communications poor, 44. Regulations of constit'n of 1812 rdg., 25; effect of that constit'n in, 28; swear allegiance to it, 29; provincial, 45; rise of desire for independence, 26; how independence viewed in, 30-2; declares independence, 37; basic idea in revolts, 27; autonomy idea grows, 28; old régime reëtabl., 29; govt. unstable, 31; favors plan of Iguala, 31, 33; Span. laws declared basic in, 32; pol. status left to cong., 32; *cabildo abierto* called, 32, 37; republicanism in, 33; proposed cong. for, opposed, 34; cong. called to decide future status, 36; invited to unite with Mex., 37; annexation to Mex., proclaimed, 39; confederation declared, 40-1; Barrios advocates unity in, 295; form of govt., 43-5; pol. parties in, 44; adopt fed. constit'n, 44; govt. disintegrates, 45; pres., 26, 28; elective municipal govts. provided for, 28; effect of Bustamante's efforts in, 28; civil war threatened in, 35, 36; civil war in, 44; Iturbide interested in future of, 37; caudillism and caudillos in, 285, 298; com'l com'n recommended for, 420; Mex.-U. S. peace mediation in (1906), 422 n, 432 n, 433 n; attitude toward U. S., 434 n; Root wishes to separate from European influence, 443. *See also* the several Cent. Amer. countries.
- America, Hispanic: peopled by adventurous men, 287; admixture of bloods in, 287; basis of society in, 287-8; half castes outnumber whites, 288; Mendelian law operates in, 288; creoles in, 288-9; social structure continues, 291; provincial division in, defined, 291; personal leadership in, 292; conquerors characterized, 287; illiteracy in, 292; insecurity in, 296; growth of wealth, 297; effect of rys., 297. Caudillism and caudillos, 284, 286, 296; character and form of govt., 287, 289, 293; does not wish to continue col. institutions, 290; col. period still exists in spirit, 291; effect of universal suffrage, 292; elections in, described, 292-3; personal pol. rule in, 295; growth of pol. consciousness in, 297. Resents Anglo-Amer. insistence in, 11-15; Williamson's relations to, 146; delegates to conf. from, 426-7; effect of Root's visit in, 441-3; attitude toward conf., 454-5; bibliogr. list rdg., 493-502. *See also* South America; and the various Hisp.-Amer. countries.
- America, North: civil war in, 3; reason for success in for. trade, 95. *See also* Mexico; and United States.
- America, South: compared to Anglo-Amer., 287; Argentine-Chile monument in, famous, 90; myth of, 87-92; struggle for mkts. in, 93-9; anarchy in, 190; independence campaigns in, 29-30; Ind. education in, 100-1; Jesuits expelled from, 245 n; U. S. desires to mediate in, 4; Sp. wars in, 6; Brit. offensive in, 93-9; Melville's plan rdg., 151; exped. against, suggested, 152; Brit.-U. S. intervention in, suggested, 153-4; Burr claims knowledge of, 173; attitude toward U. S., 434 n; reason for Root's visit to, 441 n; Root wishes to separate from European influence, 443; proposals to Winder from, 457. Collection on, in Univ. of Calif., 103-6; collection bought in, 248; calendar of MSS. in, 259-67, 376-86, 503-21. *See also* the various countries of S. Amer.
- American Antiquarian Society: MSS. in, cited, 147 n; buys Bolivian newspapers, 248.
- American International Conferences: provision of 2d., 422-3. *See also* Third International American Conference.
- American Peace Society: publishes supposed inscription, 89.

- American Philosophical Society: prize offered by, 198.
- American State Papers*: cited, 163 n.
- Americans, Anglo: trade at N. O., 46; ignore caudillism, 281.
- Americans, Latin: Anglo-Amer. offer displeases, 14-15.
- Americans, South: attitude toward Mex., 166.
- Anales de la Univ. de Santiago*: cited, 484 n.
- Andalusia: O'Reilly apptd. mil. inspector in, 279.
- Anderson, Rasmus B.: book noticed, 402.
- Anian, Strait of: search for, 481, 484, 488.
- Andrada, Antonio Carlos de; letter, cited, 184 n.
- Andrada e Silva, José Bonifacio de: pol. activities, 181, 183, 184 n; apptd Pedro's guardian, 196; letters by and to, cited, 184-5, 192 n.
- Anglo-Span. and Span.-Amer. Institute (London): aims, 98.
- Anaes do Parlamento Brasileiro*: cited, 188 n.
- Annexation: attitude toward in Cent. Amer., 37, 38; determining factor in, 175.
- Antequera, ———: early Paraguayan caudillo, 289-90.
- Appropriations: Burr hopes for Eng., 161; Roosevelt recommends, 420; cong. asked for and makes, 420 n, 421 n, 422 n; by various officials, 511.
- Aranda, Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, conde de: letter to, cited, 276 n.
- Arce, Manuel José (first pres. of Cent. Amer. Fed.): pol. activities, 27-8, 36, 42; cited, 44 n.
- Archives: MSS. in various, 46, 46 n, 49 n, 50 n, 51 n, 53 n, 54 n, 55 n, 57 n, 58 n, 157 n, 162 n, 172 n, 193 n, 270 n, 271 n, 272 n, 274 n, 275 n, 276 n, 277 n, 278 n, 279 n, 306 n, 491, 535.
- Arbitration: on Pan-Amer. program, 424; attitude of various countries toward, 424 n; compulsory, considered, 425 n; considered in committee, 433 n.
- Argentina: importance, 291-2; newspapers suppressed in, 8; diplomatic procrastination in, 10; wasted by war, 12; trade agreement with, 95; Brit. trade com'n visits, 98; cong., 236-7; appropriates money for monument, 236-7; establ. acad. of letters, 238; represented in Acosta Coll., 249; caudillism and caudillos in, 284, 286, 288-9, 296-7; pol. disturbances in, 285; rise of gauchos in, 288-9; place of Rosas in, 298; scholarship created for, 356. Refuses mediation, 2, 10, 16-17; U. S. makes treaty with, 5 n; proposes conf. with, 6; warns against U. S., 7; unable to oppose Brazil, 8; attitude toward U. S., 11; Asboth criticises unjustly, 14; Sarmiento represents in Washington, 236; U. S. com. injures, 317-8. Represented on program committee, 423 n; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n; its delegate to Pan-Amer. conf., 426; various activities, 429 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root visits, 441 n.
- Argentine Academy of Letters; created, 238-9.
- Arias Maldonado, Francisco: acts as treasurer, 510.
- Arias Sotelo, Cristobal: in lawsuit, 504-5.
- Armitage, John: cited, 179 n, 180 n, 187 n, 190 n.
- Armona, Francisco Anselmo de: Mex. min. of finance) death, 275.
- Arquistáin, Luis: book noticed, 531.
- Arriaga, Julian de (bailio; Sp. min.): member of secret committee, 274; letters by and to, cited, 50 n, 52.
- Arsenals: Burr plans to loot, 164; Fr. plans to reorganize, 279.
- Arteche, Joseph de: visitador general, 257.
- Artigas, José: Thornton compared to,

- 199; a good caudillo, 282; a great leader, 298.
- Asboth, Alexander (U. S. min. to Argentina): pol. activities, 7, 8, 11-12, 13-14; his efforts fail, 10; diplomats visit, 10 n; Seward criticises, 13 n; passes judgment on Argentina, 14; letters to and by, cited, 4 n, 6 n, 7 n, 8 n, 10 n, 11 n, 12, 12 n, 13 n.
- Ascarrunz, ———: cited, 246 n.
- Astorga, Balthazar: his accts., 510.
- Astrain, Antonio, S. J.: works noticed, 263.
- Asunción, Fray Juan de la: activities, 486.
- Asunción, Paraguay: Washburn in, 5 n.
- Atacama Desert: rights in, given to Chile, 299.
- Atlantic Refining Co.: interested in Mex. petroleum, 414-5.
- Aubry, Philippe (acting Fr. gov. in La.): Ulloa leaves authority to, 47; revokes restrictions, 47.
- Auctions: of Ind. goods, 380; held by royal hacienda, 383.
- Audiencia: establ. in Cent. Amer., 21.
- Aurousseau, Marcel: books reviewed, 474-6.
- Austria: defeated, 3; attacks Denmark, 3; recognizes Braz. independence, 192; urges apptmt. of Vergennes, 271 n.
- Avila, Sp.: mil. school at, 278.
- Avilmar, Gen. Octaviano de: activities, 170 n.
- Ayarragaray, Lucas: cited, 289.
- Aycinena, Marqués de: in Guatemala City, 26.
- Ayoayo (repartimiento): accts. of, 380.
- Ayon, Tomas: cited, 27 n, 41 n.
- Azeredo Coutinho, José Mariano de: member of Braz. club., 181 n.
- BAHIA**, Brazil: rev'n in, 181 n; Pedro unpopular in, 195.
- Bailey, Albert E.: book noticed, 543.
- Baily, J.: cited, 18 n.
- Balgray, Lord. *See* Williamson, David.
- Ballivian, Adolfo (pres. of Bolivia): Acosta sec'y to, 245; elected pres., 245 n.
- Baltimore, Md.: flour sent to La. from, 49 n; Mier in, 360; Winder prominent in, 457.
- Bancroft, Hubert H.: cited, 19 n, 482, 482 n.
- Banda Oriental: Braz. policy rdg., 193; Brazil loses, 194. *See also* Uruguay.
- Bandeirantes*: districts of, 184; Pedro fears, 184.
- Bandelier, Adolph: cited, 483, 483 n.
- Bankers: Eng., a world, 94; lend money to Port., 191; U. S. in Mex., 418.
- Banks: Burr plans to loot, 164; Braz., looted, 180; Pan Amer., 424 n.
- Banks, E. S. note by, 489-90.
- Baptism: of Ind., 302; of Ind. children required, 312-13, 324.
- Barbagelata, Hugo de: notice rdg., 393.
- Barbosa da Silva, Paulo: activities, 181 n.
- Barbosa Rosario, Mrs. Pilar: activities, 491.
- Barcia Trelles, Camilo: book reviewed, 327-31.
- Barclay, John: Burr's agt., 160.
- Baring Crisis: climax of Brit. finance in S. Amer., 94.
- Barra, Sr. de la: Mex. delegate to conf., 427.
- Barrett, John: cited, 441 n.
- Barrios, José de: a caudillo, 295; his place in Guatemala, 298; characterized, 295; book on, reviewed, 477-8.
- Barros Wanderley, José de: cited, 176 n.
- Bartlett, Ruhl J.: reviews book, 76-7.
- Basadre, Jorge: note by, 231-35; notice rdg., 394; cited, 232.
- Basdevant, J.: cited, 456 n.
- Battles: European cited, 3.
- Baudin, Louis: writes of Incas, 234.
- Baxter, S.: cited, 422 n, 426, 426 n, 427 n, 429 n, 434 n, 436 n, 440 n, 451 n.

- Bays and Gulfs: Various named—California, 482, 488; Guatanamo, 278; Honduras, 18, 24; Mex., 154, 166, 207, 360.
- Baz, Julio (Mex. offic'l): activities, 406-7.
- Bealer, Lewis W.: bibl. article by, 103-6.
- Beals, Carleton: book reviewed, 73-5.
- Beatty, Amos (pres. Texas Oil Co.): confers with Mex. offic'ls, 414-5.
- Bedregal, Juan J. (rector of Bolivian Univ.): thanked, 245 n.
- Belaunde, Victor Andrés: his writing characterized, 232; notice rdg., 391.
- Belgrano, Manuel: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Beliardí, Abbé (Fr. agt. in Sp.) politically unimportant, 272; aids Choiseul, 272, 275, 279; praises J. de Gálvez, 273; O'Reilly reports through, 278; cited, 272.
- Beltrán de Guzmán, Nuño: rival of Cortés, 488; activities, 481-2, 487; in lawsuit, 487; founds San Miguel de Culiacán, 488; characterized, 481.
- Bentham, Jeremy: Burr's contact with, 172; letter to, cited, 162.
- Bergara, Paulo acts as messenger, 184 n.
- Berges, José (Paraguayan min.): letters cited, 8 n, 10 n.
- Beveridge, Albert H.: cited, 155 n.
- Biacha, Bolivia: taxes of, 379.
- Bibliography: articles, 103-6; calendars, 242-59, 359-86, 503-21; lists, 107-38, 493-503; notes, 139-44, 260-8, 387-403, 521-40; section, 103-44, 242-68, 359-403, 493-540.
- Bigelow, John: reviews book, 218-21.
- Bingham, Hiram: cited, 95 n.
- Binkley, William C.: reviews book, 75-6.
- Blart, Louis: cited, 269 n, 270 n, 272 n.
- Bobadilla, Francisco: jurisdiction, 306 n.
- Bogotá, Col.: Span. driven from, 29.
- Bolívar, Simón: a caudillo, 284; his pol. theory, 297; activities, 29-30, 190; Thornton compared to, 199; apostrophe to, cited, 101.
- Bolivia: classes of pop. in, 256; constit'n, 245 n; pol. disturbances in, 285; caudillism in, 285; place of Melgarejo in, 289; attitude in Paraguayan war, 3; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n, 444 n; represented on committee, 425 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root unable to visit, 441 n; collection of MSS. from, 242; unable to acquire Acosta coll., 247; calendar of MSS. rdg., 242-59, 376-86, 503-21.
- Bonaparte, Napoleon: threatens to invade Eng., 151, 153; U. S. attitude toward, 161; danger to U. S. from, 166; has agt. in U. S., 170; Burr tries to interest, 172; Sp. revolts against, 26; result in Sp. of fall, 29; intervenes in Sp., 171; abandons that intervention, 172; one result of victories, 165; desires Port., 178.
- Bonds: Mex. govt., 415; petroleum tax payable in, 416; Mex. rise, 417; bo't in mkt., 417-18; bo't low, 419.
- Bonfim, Manoel: book noticed, 534-5.
- Bonifacio, José. *See* Andrada e Silva, José Bonifacio da.
- Bösche, E. T.: cited, 177 n, 195, 196 n.
- Boston, Mass.: Sarmiento in, 236; supposed monument to him in, 236-41.
- Bouligny, ———: cited, 50n.
- Boundaries: of Cent. Amer., 22-3; Span.-U.S., 164; of Hisp. Amer. states not fixed, 291.
- Brazil: strongest nation in S. Amer., 8; compared to Anglo-Amer., 287; treasury empty, 180; provinces of, jealous, 181; liberty of press, restricted, 190; slavery in, 191-2. Question of, and struggle for, independence in, 176, 182-3, 185; independence day in, 185 n; separatist movements suppressed, 187; João VI. leaves, 187 n; Port. expelled from, 187-8; union with Port. feared, 188 n; secession in, 190; saved from

- anarchy, 190; recolonization feared, 192; under Port. influence, 194; controlled by Braz., 196; becomes empire, 281; violent caudillism ceases in, 286. First emperor, 176-97; first ass'y called in, 176; effect of rev'n in, 179; Pedro becomes regent of, 179; govt. in, restricted, 180; pol. clubs in, 181 n; cabinet of, resigns, 182-3; Pedro remains in, 182-3; c6rtes given to, 183; proclamations and decrees in, 183, 183 n; first constituent ass'y in, 183, 184 n; ass'y dissolved, 188-9, 196 n; constit'n, 189, 192; prov'l govts. of, despotic, 189-90; courts poor, 190; pol. parties in, 186-7; pol. tho't in, 186-8; decrees rdg., issued in Port., 184 n; Port. tries to pacify, 184 n; Pedro's evolution with respect to, 185-6; opposition to him, in, 190; pol. disorders in, 195; rev'n breaks out in, 196. Refuses mediation, 2, 8, 10, 11, 16-17; U. S. min. in, 4 n; U. S. proposes conf. with, 6; Webb absolves, 16; Argentina can not oppose, 8; Brit. trade in, 97; Brit. trade com'n visits, 98; bound to Eng. and Port., 190; Port. refuse to acknowledge, 190-1; Port. recognizes, 192; price paid for Brit. recognition, 191-2; pays Port. loan, 191; terr. ceded to Bolivia by, 299. Conf. arranged for, 423; represented on committee, 423 n; issues invitations to conf., 425; its delegates to conf., 426; represented in St. Louis exposition, 429 n; activities, 429 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root visits, 441 n; Ger. influence in, 442.
- Brazilians: their opinion of Pedro I., 176-7, 192-3; Port. hostile to, 188; effect of slave trade treaty on, 191, 191 n, 192; fear recolonization, 192; excluded from govt. offices, 194; relations with Port., 195; control Brazil, 196.
- British: attitude toward U. S. efforts in S. Amer., 10; Gálvez seizes smugglers, 46; smuggling by, not prohibited, 57-8; reside in N. O., 47; ordered from La., 46, 49, 55; traders in N. O., unmolested, 48; have monopoly in N. O., 50; interfere with Span. shipping, 53; their com. at N. O. only temporary, 58; offensive in S. Amer., 93-9; send comm'ns to S. Amer., 97-8; favor Miranda's plans, 173-4; threaten Span. rule, 259. *See also* England; English; and Gt. Britain.
- Brit. and For. State Papers*: cited, 9 n, 17 n.
- Britto, Senhor (Braz. min. to Argentine): visits Asboth, 10 n.
- Brown, Adm.: praised, 296.
- Brown, Elva Fay: cited, 413 n.
- Brown, Vera Lee: cited, 47 n, 49 n, 54 n, 269 n.
- Browne, ———: letter to, cited, 49 n.
- Browne, Dr. Joseph (Burr's brother-in-law): apptd. sec'y of La., 155.
- Bucarely y Ursua, Antonio (viceroy of New Spain): letter to, cited, 50 n.
- Buchanan, William J.: delegate to conf., 425.
- Buenos Aires, Argentina (prov. and city): sailing time to, lessened, 279; weapons necessary in, 288; organizations in, 89; Asboth's measures in, 14; Melville's plans rdg., 151; agt. from, in Europe, 174; asks aid of Burr, 175; caudillos in, 283; first popular ass'y in, 290; many rev's in, 296; desires conf., 446 n; gov. of, cited, 11.
- Bureau of Amer. Republics: building for, recommended, 421-2; activities, 422 n, 425 n; reorganization proposed, 423; arranged for and discussed, 423, 424, 444, 444 n, 445 n. *See also* Pan American Union.
- Burgos, Sp.: council summoned to, 304; laws of, 301-26.
- Buron, Edmond: book reviewed, 218-21.
- Burr, Aaron: Hisp. Amer. phases of his

- conspiracy, 145-75; in Philadelphia, 145, 148; in Washington, 154, 160; tours west, 157-8; in N. O., 158; visits Jackson, 159; in London, 170, 171; expelled from Eng., 171-2; detained in Paris, 172. His relations with Williamson, 146 ff; hostile to Hamilton, 146, 148; relations with Merry, 156-7; starts for Span. terr., 150; approaches Span. min., 157; his estimate of Miranda, 162; warned of M., 163; M.'s attitude toward, 164; Jefferson hostile to, 167; his attitude toward Jefferson, 170; tries to interest Napoleon, 172. His offer to Gt. Brit., 148; attitude toward Gt. Brit., 150, 174-5; seeks and expects aid from Brit. govt., 156, 160, 162-3; asks naval contingent from, 156-7; loses hope in, 161; Brit. attitude toward, 171-2; his interest in La. causes apprehension, 154; interested in Mex., 155, 167; loses Mex. hope, 175; suggests loan from Sp., 161. Intends to resign vice-presidency, 148; activities and projects, 153-6, 167-8, 170; his pol. speculation, 155; condemns S. Amer. plans, 163; his supposed plans reported, 164; his importance in Williamson's plans, 166; imprisoned, 169; U. S. can not restrain, 169; deceived and betrayed, 170, 174; almost commits treason, 172; death of daughter affects, 175. Discredited, 147; needy, 148; needs financial aid, 156; needs friendship, 173; characterized, 149, 162, 172; letters to and by, cited, 147 n, 150 n, 162, 171, 172 n, 173, 174, 174 n, 175.
- Bustamante y Guerra, José (capt. gen.): arrives in Guatemala, 27; effect of his activities, 28; triumphs in Cent. Amer., 29; characterized, 27.
- CABILDO ABIERTO**: democratic, 38.
- Cabrera, Doña Francisca de: pays trib., 379.
- Cabrera, Luis (Mex. off'cl): petroleum activities, 409.
- Caciques; regulations rdg., 309. *See also* Caudillos.
- Calamarca Lanzas (repartimiento): collections and accts., 382, 383, 384.
- Calcott, W. H.: reviews books, 73-5, 228-9.
- Calderón, Juan (com'y judge): accts., 379, 380.
- Calderón de la Barca, Mme.; book noticed, 540.
- Calendars: of Mier archives, 359-75; of S. Amer. MSS., 242-60, 376-86, 503-21.
- Callao, Peru: suffers from earthquake, 512-13.
- Calvert, John (Brit. shipowner): Span. case against, 57 n.
- Calvo, ——— (min. of Costa Rica): cited, 441.
- Calvo Doctrine: defined, 424; considered in conf., 445.
- Camacho, Gen.: exiled, 245.
- Cambel [Campbell], Juan: Brit. shipowner, 57 n.
- Cambridge, Mass.: Sarmiento in, 236; Acosta coll. sent to, 248.
- Campero, Gen.: Acosta attached to, 245.
- Canada: has interest in S. Amer. trade, 97-8; recruiting in, 145; Burr considers, 155.
- Canning, George: his agt., 191 n; Letters to, cited, 178 n, 192 n.
- Cannon: cast for Sp., 279.
- Cantoral, Lorenzo: activities, 377.
- Caquingora (repartimiento): accts., 381.
- Carabucumoho (Bolivian prov.): accts., 381.
- Caracas, Ven.: Miranda in, 162.
- Caracolla, Bolivia: taxes, 381.
- Cárcano, Ramón J.: succeeds Levene, 491.
- Cardozo, Efriam: notice rdg., 393.
- Carlos (Span. infante; nephew and son-in-law of João VI.): João's sentiment for, 178.
- Carlota Joaquina (mother of Pedro I.):

- hates son, 177; her son characterized, 179.
- Carnegie, Andrew: activities, 420 n.
- Carnegie Institution of Washington: hist. issued by, 358.
- Carr, Harry: book noticed, 539.
- Carranca, Gaspar de: makes collections, 379.
- Carranza, Venustiano (Mex. pres.): activities, 406, 408; export tariff policy, 411.
- Carrasco Francisco (Span. offic'l): released from apptmt., 275; cited, 273.
- Carrera, ———: his place in Guatemala, 298.
- Carreras, The: hostile to the O'Higginses, 284.
- Caribbean area: rev'ns in, 285; maps, etc., of, collected, 154.
- Cartago, Costa Rica: capital, 25; pol. sentiment in, 35-6; San José defeats, 43.
- Carua, Doña (Indian woman): death, 379.
- Carvalho e Mello, ———: letter by, cited, 192 n.
- Casa Calvo, Marqués de (Span. colonial offic'l): Burr given letter to, 158; letter by, cited, 157 n.
- Casa, Yrujo, Marqués de (Span. min. to U. S.): Burr approaches, 157; reports Burr's plans, 164; Burr betrays Miranda's plans to, 164; distrusts Burr, 167; letters by, cited, 157 n, 162, 162 n, 164, 164 n.
- Casas, Bartolomé de las: ameliorates lot of Ind., 301; uses laws of Burgos, 301-2; how he reports laws of Burgos, 305; cited, 302 n, 305 n.
- Casasus, Joaquin D. (Mex. ambass. to U. S.): presents resolution, 423 n.
- Castile (Span. prov. and kingdom): wts. of, apply in Indies, 316 n.
- Castilla, ———: his place in Peru, 298.
- Castillo, Abel-Romeo: book noticed, 533.
- Castro, Cipriano: place in Ven., 299.
- Castro, Domitilla de: letters to and by, cited, 193 n.
- Castro Pozo, Hedilberto: cited, 233-4.
- Cattle: Ind., auctioned off, 380; taxed, 385.
- Caudillism: defined, 281; prominent in *Hisp. Amer.*, 281; in Cuba, 284-5; a factor in rev'ns, 285-6; a natural growth, 286-7; its antecedents, 286-7; long establ., 289; replaces constit'n, 292. *See also* Caudillos.
- Caudillos: defined, 281, 282; characterized, 282; evolution in character of, 282-3, 296-7, 298; rule until defeated, 283; rarely pass on power to favorites, 283; often several in one country, 284; reasons for, 292; described, 293; how they govern, 293-5; perform service, 296; appeal to law, 298; theses on, 300; "age of", 281-300.
- Caughy, John: article, 46-58.
- Cavo, ———: cited, 488 n.
- Caxias, Marqués de (Braz. commander of allied armies): Washburn seeks interview with, 8; stationed near Paraguay, 8-9; activities, 9, 10; letter to, cited, 9 n.
- Cebrián, Juan C.: activities, 103.
- Cédulas. *See* Decrees and Proclamations.
- Cevallos, ——— (Span. offic'l): Burr's plan reported to, 164; letter to, cited, 162 n, 164 n.
- Chabot, Frederick C.: book reviewed, 476.
- Chaco: represented in Acosto coll. 249.
- Chacón y Calvo (José María: book reviewed, 64-6.
- Chadwick, Mara L. Pratt: book reviewed, 402.
- Chamberlain, G. A.: cited, 439 n, 452 n, 454 n.
- Chamberlain, Robert S.: (U. S. consul): activities, 241; letters by, cited, 188 n, 192 n.
- Charcas, Bolivia: taxes in, 380.
- Charles III. (king of Sp.): revives Span. industry, 270; Fr. shares in reforms of,

- 273; attitude toward O'Reilly, 277;
O'Reilly protects him from mob, 278.
- Charles V. (of Sp.): favors Cortés, 481.
- Chase, Dr. Mary Katherine: book noticed, 537-8.
- Chase, Stuart: book reviewed, 476-7.
- Chateaubriand, François René: Mier translates his *Atala*, 360.
- Chaves, Capt. Nuflo; lineage and activities, 254.
- Chiamila: conquest, 481.
- Chiapas, Guatemala: favors Mex., 23; Guatemala loses, 24; adheres to plan of Iguala, 31-2.
- Children: Ind. must be taught, 311-12, 324; other regulations, rdg., 322, 324, 325.
- Childs, Dr. James B.: book noticed, 397.
- Chile: importance, 291-2; loses prov., 291; gains right in Atacama deserts, 299; rev'n's and independence, 29, 285, attitude during Paraguayan war, 3; Brit. trade com'n visits, 98; Melville's plan rdg., 151; asks aid of Burr, 175; pres. choose successors, 284; caudillos and caudillism in, 284, 286, 296-7; Melgarejo flees to, 300; represented on committee, 423 n; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n; sends delegates to conf., 426; activities, 429 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root visits, 441 n; earthquake in, 443 n; represented in Acosta coll., 249.
- Choiseul, Duc de: author of Fr.-Span. alliance, 269; predicts Amer. rev'n, 271; his agt., in Sp., 272-3; activities, 270, 272, 274, 279; falls from power, 269; letters to and by, cited, 270 n, 272 n, 274 n, 275 n, 276-7, 277 n, 278 n, 279 n.
- Choquiganca, Juan (cacique): letter and petition by, 509.
- Christians: regulation rdg. Ind., 322-3.
- Chuqui Guanca, Marcos (cacique): activities, 510.
- Chuquito (prov. in Bolivia): gov., 379.
- Church (as an institution): prohibiting laws of, 245 n; holidays, 310 n; Ind. should be near, 323; Ind. must attend, 329; papers on, 503; fees paid by, 515.
- Churches: Ind. must have, 309, 311; must be built at mines, 311.
- Churchward, James: books reviewed, 77-9.
- Cíbola, N. M.: discovery, object of exped., 485, 489; Sp. desire to find, 488.
- Cinco Barrios: exped. made from, 482.
- Ciudad Rodrigo, Fray Antonio: activities, 485-6.
- Claiborne, William C. C.: gov. of La., 154.
- Clark, Dr. Charles Upson: notice rdg., 390-1.
- Clark, Daniel: agt. for Burr, 160; activities, 158.
- Clark, Francis E.: cited, 90 n.
- Clark, Victor S.: reviews books, 346-50.
- Clemence, Stella Risley: activities, 241, 401-2.
- Clergy: support plan of Iguala, 33.
- Clerics: do little for Ind., 302; regulations for, 311.
- Clerk, Lord Justice: letter to, cited, 154 n, 169 n.
- Cleven, N. Andrew N.: doc., 198-215; reviews book, 470-2.
- Clothing: Ind. must be furnished, 315-16, 324-5; Ind. must wear, 326; taxes paid on, 380, 381, 383.
- Club de Resistencia (Brazil): members and work, 181 n.
- Codes: discussed at conf., 424, 448.
- Coelho de Sa'e Albuquerque, Antonio (Braz. min.): communications to, 6.
- Coffee: cong. on, arranged, 447.
- Colarubias, Andres de: signs doc., 507.
- Cole, Mabel Cook: book noticed, 400-1.
- Col. de Doc. Inéd.*: cited, 302 n, 484 n, 485 n, 486 n.
- Colima: conquest, 481; its conquerors, 488.
- Colleges and Universities: in Guatemala, 25-6; first in Cent. Amer., 26; various

- named, 26, 30, 103-6, 198, 230, 232, 234, 235, 239, 240, 246, 248, 280, 357, 359, 386, 387, 425, 426, 456, 457, 492.
- Colombia: asks aid from Burr, 175; caudillism in, 284, 286; place of Marroquin in, 299; represented on committee, 425 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root visits, 441 n; Barrett min. to, 441 n; its delegate to conf., 450; represented in Acosta coll. 249.
- Colón, Diego: patent given to, 309.
- Colonies: rev'n in Eng., influences Cent. Amer., 26; plot to free Span., 164; plan to seize Span., 170; Span. gain independence, 281; absolute rule in Span., 287; U. S. desires independence for, 460.
- Columbia: outline of constit'n for, 198-215.
- Columbus, Christopher: second voy. noted, 302; portrait, 489-90; map by, found, 490.
- Comayagua, Honduras: outdistanced, 24; Span. party rules in, 34.
- Commerce and Trade: La Plata region barred from, 5; destroyed by war, 6 n; in Argentina, paralyzed, 12; restrictions cause friction, 26; contraband at N. O., 46; restricted in La., 47; Eng. engage in, 47; betw. Havana and N. O., advised, 49 n; amt. of foreign in La., 50; Fr. in La., 50, 51 n; contraband not legal, 54; Brit., at N. O., ruined, 58; Gt. Brit. finances foreign, 94; U. S.-Brit. hostility in, 153; entente betw. them urged, 165; Clark makes voyage for, 158; fur trade, 159; held out as bait, 165; Brit. trade of policy in, 167; Span.-Fr., favored by alliance, 269; reforms in Span., favored 274; Brit. reports on, cited, 95; junta on, reports, 274-5.
- Comité France-Amérique: its pubs. 534.
- Commissions: of viscount d'Abernon, 95; Brit. sent to S. Amer., 97-8; Mex.-U. S. debt., 419.
- Committees: secret, in Madrid, 274, 280; apptd. for Third Pan-Amer. conf., 423, 423 n; reports of, 423-5; conf. works in, 432 n; apptd. in conf., 433, 433 n; work of, 444 n; matters considered by, 445 n; Benavides appts., 507.
- Compostella: Coronado expd. at., 489.
- Conchillos, Lope de (Span. offic'l): complaints of Dom., 303.
- Conferences: in Washington, proposed, 6. *See also* Third Intern'l Amer. Conf.
- Confiscations: by Gálvez, 46, 51, 52; reason for, 53; of ships, approved, 57; of goods of Ind., 383.
- Congresses: Angostura, 29-30; in Cent. Amer., declares independence, 40; Filósola calls, 40; educ'l in Lima, 100; Nat'l Industrial, 409; considers import tax, 413; intern'l Amer., 421; of coffee, arranged, 447; at Tucuman (1816), 457.
- Conima (repartimiento): accts., 380.
- Conspiracies: Hisp.-Amer. phases of Burr, 145-75; Wilkinson reports formation of, 168; in Brazil, 181-2.
- Constitución política*: cited, 23 n, 28 n.
- Constitutions: of 1812 (Span.), 25, 28, 180; abolished, 29; reëstabl., 30; Cent. Amer. (1824), 44; Pedro I. promulgates Braz., 176; Braz., 179, 189, 192; Thornton's outlines for, 198-215; of states of U. S., 199; Bolivian, 245 n; how caudillos observe, 293-4; changed in Hisp. Amer., 298.
- Contreral Ulloa, Antonio de: pays taxes, 380.
- Conwell, B. P.: expels Mier, 361.
- Conventions: made at inter'l conf., 443, 447-8. *See also* Treaties.
- Cooper, Clayton Sedgwick: book noticed, 140.
- Copacauana (repartimiento): accts., 382.
- Copyright: considered at conf., 424.

- Corbet-France, Eugene: assist. dir. of archives, 491.
- Córdoba, Fray Pedro de, O. P.: arrives in India, 302-3; activities, 303; goes to Sp., 305.
- Cornejo, ——— (Peruvian delegate): cited, 437.
- Coronado, Joana: activities, 378.
- Cortés, Hernán (Marqués del Valle) hostile to Guzmán, 481, 488; keeps part of Mex. treasure, 485; attitude toward Mendoza, 487; cited, 487.
- Cortés de San Buenventura, Francisco (conquistador): activities, 481, 488.
- Costa, Sra. de: article, cited, 89.
- Costa Rica, Cent. Amer.: physical features and pop., 19; delimitation, 21; isolated, 25, 35; rival cities in, 25; status, 25; loyal to Sp., 35; civil war in, 43; pol. influence in, 45; caudillism in, 285; represented on committee, 423 n; sends delegates to conf., 426-7, 430; order in chair, 433 n.
- Cortina de Montalbo (Montalvo), Juan (treasurer): records, etc., 385.
- Councils: Gainzas, 38; of Indies, reviews ship seizure, 57; meets in Rio, 183 n; Ferdinand summons, 304.
- Courts: abolished in Brazil, 180.
- Cox, Isaac Joslin: articles, 145-75; thanked, 259 n; activities, 492; cited, 147 n, 154 n, 157 n, 159 n, 170 n.
- Crane, F.: cited, 452 n.
- Creoles: defined, 20; status improves, 27; inexperienced in govt., 30; easily changed, 291; evolution in Hisp. Amer., 288-9.
- Crevaux, S. Amer.: Acosta ill-treated at, 246.
- Crimes: various kinds named, 12.
- Croix, Teodoro de (Marquis): of foreign birth, 276; Fr. aid, 273, 280; Fr. attitude toward, 276.
- Croix, Teodoro de (nephew of preceding): promised abbey in Fr., 276.
- Cuba (colony and republic): has freedom of com. with La., 58; Brit. trade com'n aids, 98; Fr. W. Indies has freedom of com. in, 276; O'Reilly sent to, 278; Sp. retains, 281; becomes republic, 281; rev'n in, 285; caudillos in, 284, 298; represented on committee, 423 n; order in chair, 433 n; its delegate at conf., 444 n.
- Cuentas Valverdi, Gov. Pedro: deed concerns, 509.
- Cuevas, Mariano, S. J.: cited, 488.
- Culiacán, Mex.: Fray Marcos at, 484.
- Cumaná: Fr. W. Indies given trade privileges in, 276.
- Cundall, Frank: reviews books, 352-4.
- Cunow, ——— (Ger. author): writes of Incas, 234.
- Cura: defined, 257 n.
- Currency: Mex. deprecated, 405.
- Customs: uniform laws discussed, 424; provisions at cong. of, 421 n.
- Cuxmalim: conquest, 481.
- Cuyo: importance, 291; transferred to Rio de la Plata, 291.
- DAVIS**, Harold E.: article, 407-19.
- Davis, Henry Gassaway: chmn. permanent ry. com'n, 420 n.
- Davis, M. L.: cited, 162 n, 164 n.
- Davis, M. W.: cited, 146 n, 147 n, 171 n, 172 n, 175 n.
- Dayton, William (U. S. min. to Fr.): letter to, cited, 7 n.
- Dayton, Sen.: Burr's agt., 160, 161; activities, 161, 162, 164; betrays Miranda, 164.
- Dearborn, ———: letter to, cited, 147 n.
- Debendetti, Salvador: notice rdg., 391-2.
- Debts: Brit. allowed to collect, 56; Mex. nat'l reduced, and method, 411, 412; conjecture rdg. Mex., 412; Mex. discussed, 418; doctrines rdg., 424; agreement rdg., signed, 445.
- Decoud, ——— Paraguayan delegate, 427.
- Decrees (cédulas, proclamations): of La.

- council, cited, 48 n; Port., cited, 180; enacted in Brazil, 183; Dom Pedro issues, 183 n, 192; issued in Port., 184; Span., creating Americanist center, 237-8; by Ferdinand, 302; Mex. land, 406; Carranza issues, 408 n; jeopardize Mex. petroleum industry, 409; Mex., petroleum taxes changed and abolished by, 410, 412 n, 415-16; amt. of petroleum taxes paid by, 410-11, 412 n; Mex. govt. carried on, 411; Mex., 419; rdg. Ind. of Alto Peru, 508.
- De Forest, Davis (agt. for United Prov.): activities, 457 n.
- Dellepiane, Carlos: notice rdg., 392.
- Dennis, William Jefferson: book reviewed, 70-3.
- Deprez, Enrique: notice rdg., 394.
- Detiguana (repartimiento): pays taxes, 380.
- Deuel, John Vandever: book noticed, 542-3.
- Deústua, Alejandro (rector of San Marcos): cited, 290-1.
- Dias Paes Leme, Pedro (marqués de Quixeramobin): activities, 181 n.
- Díaz, Porfirio: place among caudillos, 282.
- Díaz del Castillo, Bernal: cited, 484, 484 n, 488-9.
- Díaz Dufoo, Carlos: cited, 418.
- Dickson, Alexander: letter by, cited, 57 n.
- Dictators: Paraguayan, 2. *See also*, Caudillism, *and* Caudillos.
- Diffie, Bailey W., and Justine White: book reviewed, 346-50.
- Dillon, E. J.: cited, 413.
- Diseases: Ind. decimated by, 19-20. Yellow fever, 171; typhoid, 247.
- Documentos posteriores a la Independencia*: cited, 36 n.
- Documentos relacionados*: cited, 406 n, 407 n, 408 n, 409 n.
- Doheny, E. L.: confers with Mex. off'ls, 414-15.
- Dominican Republic: rev'ns in, 285; caudillism in, 285; delegate late to conf., 430 n.
- Dominicans arrive in Sto Domingo, 302-3; Span. complain of, 303; send Montesino to Sp., 304.
- Domitilla, Donna (marqueza de Santos): acts as min. for Pedro, 193.
- Donnan, Elizabeth: books reviewed, 340-1.
- Dorantes: activities, 483; expd. under, considered, 488.
- Dorrego, Manuel: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Drago Doctrine: defined, 424; considered in conf., 445; stated by Drago, 445 n.
- Drummond, A. M. V. de: member of Braz. Club, 181 n; cited, 177 n, 184 n, 187 n, 188 n.
- Du Barry, Mme.: influences Louis XV., 271.
- Dudley, ———: letter to, cited, 192 n.
- Duels: Burr-Hamilton, 146, 147, 148.
- Dundas, Henry. *See* Melville, Lord.
- Durango, Mex.: first Span. in, 482; expd. reach, 488.
- Durón, Rómulo E.: cited, 23 n, 30 n.
- Duties; on Fr. ships reduced, 58; moderate, for colonies, planned, 274; reduction of planned for Mex., 274; collected for govt., 511.
- EARTHQUAKES**: Chilean, 443 n; in Lima, 512.
- Eaton, Gen. William: brings charge against Burr, 164.
- Ecuador: attitude in Paraguayan war, 3; caudillism in, 285, 298-9; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n; represented on committee, 425 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root unable to visit, 441 n.
- Education: renewed interest in, of Peruvian Ind., 100-1.
- Eells, Ellis Spicer: book noticed, 543.
- Egaña, Juan: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Elections: in Span. Cent. Amer., 29; in Cent. Amer. (1825), 44.

- Elizalde, Rufino de (Argentinian min.): visits Asboth, 10 n; Asboth urges to accept mediation, 11-12; letters to and by, cited, 6 n, 8 n, 11 n, 12 n, 13, 13 n.
- El Salvador: people flee Mex., 40; decree annexes to U. S., 40. *See also* San Salvador.
- Elliott, Arthur Elwood: book reviewed, 350-2.
- Encomenderos: must build huts, 308; obligations to Ind. shared among, 318; may punish only own Ind., 325; regulation rdg., at death, 325.
- Encomiendas: evil effects of system, 301; development of system, 301; monastery supported by, 303-4.
- England: attitude in Paraguayan war, 3; refuses to intervene in La Plata, 4; Seward denies right of intervention to, 7; considers mediation proposal, 15; foremost in S. Amer. trade, 93; pre-war status in S. Amer., 94; William-son returns to, 145; his mission there, 149-50; Napoleon threatens to invade, 151, 153; Burr expelled from, 171-2; attitude toward Peru, 178; Brazil desires recognition by, 190-1; price for such recognition, 191; hostile to Sp. and Fr., 269, 279; Choiseul plans revenge on, 270 n; Fr. and Sp. prepare war against, 271, 273, 279; Mier in, 359, 360; attempts to collect debts by force, 445. *See also* British; English; and Gt. Britain.
- English: smugglers on Mississippi, 46-58. *See also* British; English; and Gt. Britain.
- Enríquez de Guzmán, Juan: viceroy of Peru, 505.
- Envoys: Braz., 18. *See also* Agents.
- Espinal, Alonso de, O. S. F.: sent to Sp. as agt., 303; welcomed there, 304; activities, 304.
- Espinosa Salazar. Juan de (eccles.): inherits property, 509.
- Esquivel, Ascensión: delegate to conf., 421-7; address, 430-1.
- Esteban (Estebanico slave): Dorantes sells, 483; on exped., 487.
- Estrada, Bartolomé de: records, 385.
- Estrada Cabrera, Manuel: caudillos in Guatemala, 296, 298-9.
- Europe, reactionary movements in, 29; committed to mercantilist theory, 49; regains much of S. Amer. trade, 93; competes successfully with U. S., 95; rivalry of, does not threaten Gt. Brit., 96; Pan Amer. conf. not aimed against, 431 n, 454; views of, on Root's visit, 442-3.
- Europeans: Mayas fight, 18.
- Evans, Paul D.: cited, 145 n.
- Evora, Sebastián de: leader of exped., 482-488.
- Exiles: Talleyrand, 165; D. Miguel, 196; Acosta, 245-246; Caudillism causes, 283; of Mina, 360.
- Expeditions: against Ind., 377; of Coronado, 483; Mendoza organizes, 487-8; early exploring, 488.
- Exquemeling, Alexandre Olivier: identified, 391.
- Extracto de las Ideas*: cited, 424 n.
- F**AGLE, ———: letter to, cited, 458.
- Falconer, Thomas: book reviewed, 75-6.
- Falley, Eleanor W.: cited, 248 n.
- Farmers: taxed, 514-15.
- Ferdinand (of Aragon): his order to Fray Pedro de Córdoba, 303; Montezino reads mem'l to, 304; asks him to revise laws of Burgos, 305; characterized, 302; cited, 302.
- Ferdinand (Fernando) VII. (of Sp.): Sp. revolts in his favor, 26; repudiates govt., 26; imprisoned in Fr., 27; popular with masses, 27; restored to throne, 29; his sister, 177; decree, 306.
- Fernández de Cabrera, Luis Gerónimo (viceroy of Peru): lawsuit, 503-4.

- Fernández de Córdoba, Diego: viceroy of Peru, 503.
- Fernández de Navarrete, Martín: cited, 302 n.
- Fernández de Oviedo y Valdez, Gonzalo: cited, 304 n.
- Fernández Guardia, Ricardo: cited, 19 n, 43 n.
- Fernández Xirón, Lic. Francisco (presbyter): deed, 508.
- Ferreira, ——— (Braz. min. to Mex.): delegate to conf., 426.
- Fetter, Frank W.: note by, 87-92.
- Fifth Pan Amer. Cong.*: cited, 422 n.
- Figueira de Mello, J. de A.: cited, 177 n.
- Figueiredo, Fidelino: notice rdg., 392; book reviewed, 59-61.
- Figueroa, Gregorio: special fund of, 379.
- Filósola, Vicente: replaces Gainza, 39-40; attitude toward annexation, 40 n.
- Filsinger, Ernest B.: cited, 19 n.
- Finance: Brit. place in S. Amer., 93-4.
- Fish: paid as tribute, 383.
- Fisher, Fred C.: reviews book, 216-18.
- Fisher, Lillian Estelle: reviews books, 62-4, 229-30; notice rdg., 538; cited, 22 n.
- Fitch, John: Thornton aids, 198.
- Fitzgerald, ——— (mayor of Boston): accepts statue, 236.
- Fleiss, Max: cited, 179 n, 190 n.
- Florida: Narvaez's exped. to, 482.
- Floridablanca, José Moñino y Redondo, Conde de: succeeds Grimaldi, 276.
- Floridas: situation of, tense, 147; proposed to let U. S. have, 152; Brit. attitude toward, 154, 165; Brit. fear Fr. influence in, 154; Burr interested in, 154; he visits, 157; ready for revolt, 160; Burr plans to seize, 161; Williamson realizes importance of, 165-6; Fr. threaten, 166, 171; Wilkinson claims conspiracy in, 168; cession to U. S. favored, 171.
- Flour: Pollock supplies to N. O., 49 n.
- Fonseca, Juran Rodríguez de (bishop): complains of Dom., 303; opposes Montesino, 304.
- Food: for Ind., regulated, 314, 324; paid as trib., 383; meal, 46.
- Forbes, W. Cameron: book reviewed, 80-2.
- Ford, J. D. M.: book reviewed, 331-3.
- Ford, D. L.: cited, 167 n.
- Foreign Affairs*: cited, 4 n-16 n, 434 n, 445 n.
- Fourth Intern'l Conf.*: cited, 433 n.
- Fort Massac: Burr at, 158.
- Foucault, ——— (Fr. com'y in La.): cited, 46, 47.
- Fortier, Alcée: cited, 50 n.
- Fox, Charles: death, 168.
- Fox, William C. (director of Bur. of Amer. Repubs.): delegate to conf., 426.
- França Miranda, Francisco de: member of Braz. Club, 181 n; edits *Tamoyo*, 188 n.
- France: attitude in Paraguayan war, 3; humbles Austria, 3; refuses to intervene in La Plata, 4; Seward denies right of intervention to, 7; offers to mediate in civil war, 7 n; rev'ns in, influence Cent. Amer., 26; Ferdinand VII. imprisoned in, 27; committed to mercantilist theory, 48-9; shares in S. Amer. trade, 93; trade there, specialized, 96; Adams's attitude toward, 146; hostile to Gt. Brit., 146, 269; Burr threatens to turn to, 156, 161; Williamson fears, 169; Jefferson's attitude toward, 169; attitude toward Port., 178; recognizes Braz., 192; desires com. with Sp., 269; relations with Sp., 269, 270, 271, 273, 275, 279, 280; influence in Sp. grows, 270; aids J. de Gálvez, 273, 275; Sp. makes agreement with, 273-4; Gálvez aids, 275-6; favors Floridablanca, 276; sends off'ls to Sp., 279; Sp. off'ls indebted to, 280; defeated in Seven Years' War, 270; excluded from Port. settlement, 271; Mier in, 359. *See also* French.

- Francia, Dr. José G. R. de (Paraguayan dictator): his place, 298.
- Franciscans: must teach Ind. children, 314; must instruct Ind., 324.
- Frank, Waldo: book reviewed, 223-5.
- Franklin, Benjamin: Sarmiento admires, 236.
- Freemasons: advocate Braz. independence, 185.
- Frejes, Francisco: cited, 487, 487 n.
- French: Withdraw from Mex., 4; favored in La., 51; trade there, 51, 58; Melville hostile to, 151; Brit. fear in Amer., 154; Williamson's attitude toward, 165, 171; their plans in Amer., 165; Wilkinson gets money from, 169; officers, land in U. S., 170; endanger Lisbon, 178; enter Eng.-Amer. war, 271; attitude toward O'Reilly, 276, 278. *See also* France.
- Freyre, Raul Jaime (lib'n in Bolivia): thanked, 245 n-246 n, cited, 247 n.
- Friars: try to teach Ind., 303; threatened in Sto Dom., 303.
- Friars, Francisco: cited, 442 n, 454 n.
- Fuerte: pacified, 482.
- Fuentes, ——— (ambas. to Sp.): Ossun corresponds with, 272; letter by, cited, 271 n.
- Fugier, André: notice rdg., 393.
- Furber, Holden: cited, 151 n.
- G**
- GAGE, Thomas: cited, 19 n.
- Gainza, Gavino (capt. gen. in Cent. Amer.): activities, 32; becomes jefe político, 32; support rec'd by, 35; appeals to people, 37; replaced, 39-40; characterized, 32.
- Galland, Joseph: thanked, 259 n.
- Galván, D.: activities, 100-1; cited, 100.
- Galvez, Bernardo (gov. of La. and W. Fla.): attitude toward Eng. smugglers, 46-58; seizes and confiscates their ships, 46, 51, 52; favors Fr., 51 n; requests reinforcements, 54; treats Brit. well, 55; Eng. merchants fear, 56; his reply to Anglo-Amer., 56-7; his actions approved, 57; letters by and to, cited, 51 n-57 n; his report, cited, 52-3.
- Galvez, José de (Span. min.): attitude of Fr. toward, 273, 275-6, 280; marries Fr. woman, 273; becomes offic'l in Mex., 275; aids Fr., 275-6; letters by and to, cited, 51 n, 52 n, 53 n, 56 n, 57 n.
- Gámez, José Dolores: cited, 25 n, 41 n.
- Gandía, Enrique de: succeeds Zabala, 491.
- Gann, Thomas: book noticed, 141-2.
- Garay, Francisco de: of humble extraction, 287.
- García, Genaro: cited, 484 n.
- García, Rodolfo: book reviewed, 333-6.
- García Cabral, ———: cartoon by, 418.
- García de Sena, ———: Thornton compared to, 199.
- García Icazbalceta, Joaquín: cited, 487 n.
- García Jerez, ——— (bp. in Nicaragua): pol. activities, 28, 34; contrasted with Sacasa, 42.
- García Moreno, Gabriel: opinion rdg., 282, 298.
- García Salazar, Arturo: cited, 234.
- Garvan, John M.: book noticed, 400.
- Gasoline: taxed, 408, 412, 416.
- Gauchos: described, 288-9.
- Gautier, ——— (Fr. offic'l in Sp.): activities, 279.
- Gavidia, Francisco: cited, 27 n.
- Gayarré, Charles: cited, 46 n, 47 n, 48 n, 50 n, 51 n, 57, 57 n, 58 n.
- Georgia: danger to, from free zone near, 166.
- Germans: write of Incas, 234; recent accession of Ger. books, 522-29.
- Germany: shares in S. Amer. trade, 93; attempts to collect debts by force, 445 n.
- Gil Fortoul, José: notice rdg., 392.
- Giudici, Robert B.: book noticed, 530.
- Girón de Cabrera, Juan: activities, 505.
- Godon, Rear Adm: Asboth writes, 8 n.
- Goebel, Julius: cited, 271 n.

- Gold: smelting tax on, 519.
- Gomera, Conde de la (corregidor): accts., 379, 381.
- Gomes de Carvalho, M.: cited, 184 n.
- Gómez, Gen. José Miguel: govt. in Cuba characterized, 284-5; his methods, 298.
- Gómez, Gen. Juan (dictator in Ven.): his place, 298.
- Gómez de Cespedes, Juan: fund of, 379.
- Gómez Morin, Manuel: Mex. agt. in N. Y., 417.
- Gonçalves Ledo, Joaquim: partisan of Braz. independence, 185.
- Gonzáles, ——— (pres. Univ. of La Plata): delegate to conf., 426.
- Gonzáles, Francisco: accts., 511.
- Gonzalez, Ernest D.: book noticed, 529-30.
- González, José Eleuterio: writes life of Mier, 361.
- González de Quesado, ——— (sec'y of program committee): compiles program, 424 n.
- Goodwin, William B.: cited, 490.
- Gordon, Lord: negotiates com'l treaty; 191 n; letter by, cited, 192 n.
- Government: rights of, in S. Amer., 9; units in Cent. Amer., 22-3; Columbian, 212-15; in Hisp. Amer., opportunist, 293; expenses of, 519-21.
- Gould, G. Z. (asst. of Brit. legation in Argentina): attempts mediation, 15.
- Graft: caudillo practices, 294.
- Graham, Mary: cited, 177 n.
- Gran Colombia: created, 29-30; Costa Rica favors annexation to, 45. *See also* Colombia; Ecuador; and Venezuela.
- Granada, Nicaragua: location and importance, 24-5; creole families in, 24; favors Guatemala, 34-5; opposes annexation, 39; jealous of León, 41; plundered, 42; becomes conservative stronghold, 42.
- Granero de Alarcón, Francisco (eccles.): makes deed, 508.
- Great Britain: intervention by, in U. S. proposed, 7 n; at war with Sp., 58; its place in S. Amer., 93; its trade campaign in S. Amer., 93-9; economic status weakens, 94-5; U. S. only rival in S. Amer. trade, 96; Burr friendly to, 150; does not favor Amer. suggestion, 153; Burr hopes for aid from, 162-3; attitude toward U. S., 165; Fr. interests threaten, 165; Williamson urges action by, 166; U. S. attitude toward, 167, 168; Williamson urges occupation of Mobile by, 169; Sp., ally of, 171; joint action with U. S. advised, 171; attitude toward Span. Amer., 174; relations with Port., 190-1. *See also* British; England; and English.
- Grenville, Lord: receives Williamson, 168.
- Grimaldi, Jenónimo (Ital. in Span. service): succeeds Wall, 269; restricts trade in La., 48 n; Ossun corresponds with, 272-3; member of secret committee, 274; resigns post, 276; characterized, 279; letters to and by, cited, 271 n, 276 n.
- Grito de Ypiranga: celebrated in Brazil, 185 n.
- Groussac, Paul: his success, 491.
- Grubb, Kenneth G.: book reviewed, 350-2.
- Guatemala: Mayas formerly dominate, 18; once heavily pop., 18; kingdom of, formed, 21; meaning of "province" in, 22; boundaries remain about constant, 24; loses terr., 24; conspiracy in, 29; independence advocated in, 30; other Cent. Amer. states jealous of, 34; San Salvador favors, 36; leader in Cent. Amer., 39; Mex. army in, 39-40; unable to quell rev'n, 42; efforts for confed. in, 43; rev'n in, 285; caudillism in, 296, 298. Makes peace, 432; order in chair, 433 n; refuses to sign resolution, 447.
- Guatemala City: early off'ce's in, 23; settlement founded from, 23; importance, 25-6; cabildo abierto called in, 32, 33;

- pol. classes in, 34; welcomes Mex. army, 37; Filócola in, 40.
- Guayamá: Fr. W. Indies given trade privileges in, 276.
- Guedalla, Philip: heads delegation of students, 356.
- Guerrero, ———: carries on guerrilla warfare in Mex., 30.
- Guirior, Manuel de: activities, 257.
- Guzmán, A.: letters by, cited, 247 n.
- Guzmán, Nuño. *See* Beltrán de Guzmán.
- Guzman Blanco, Antonio: his influence in Ven., 298.
- H**AITI: caudillism in, 285; sends no delegate to conf., 425 n, 427; represented on committee, 425 n.
- Hakluyt, Richard: cited, 485 n.
- Hamilton, Alexander: Burr's rival, 146; activities, 148; Miranda resents his death, 164.
- Hammocks: must be given Ind., 315, 324; Ind. must make, 317, 325.
- Harcourt, Raoul: writes of Incas, 234.
- Haring, Clarence H.: becomes advisory ed., 1; reviews book, 222-3.
- Harold, William: opposes Mier, 362.
- Harrowby, Lord: letter to, cited, 149 n.
- Hart, Francis Russell: book reviewed, 227-8.
- Hartmann, Hans W.: reviews books, 68-9.
- Hasbrouck, Alfred: reviews books, 70-3, 463-6, 467-70.
- Havana, Cuba: com. with La. advised, 49 n; tar exported to, 52; Williamson dies in, 171; O'Reilly fortifies, 279; Mier escapes at, 361.
- Hemcnway S. W. Archeol. Exped.*: cited, 483 n.
- Henríquez, Camilo: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Heredia, Costa Rica: importance, 25.
- Hernández, Alfonso Luis: book reviewed, 62-4.
- Hernández de Proaño, Diego (Span. col. office): despatches two exped., 482, 488.
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio: cited, 301 n, 302, 302 n, 305.
- Hershey, P. R.: thanked, 259 n.
- Hidalgo y Costillo, Miguel: Mex. masses rise under, 33.
- Hill, Lawrence F.: reviews books, 340-1.
- Hill, Roscoe R.: reviews book, 472-4.
- Hisp. Amer. Rel. with U. S.*: cited, 199 n.
- Hist. MSS. Com'n: cited, 52 n, 53 n.
- Hogan, William (rector of St. Mary's): suspended, 361; asks aid of Mier, 362; excommunicated, 363.
- Hogs: Ind. must raise, 317.
- Holbrook, Franklin J.: book noticed, 402-3.
- Holland recognizes Brazil's independence, 192.
- Holt, Hamilton: cited, 89.
- Honduras: why settled, 18; physical features, 18; pop. 20; early extent, 24; its climate, a handicap, 24; Span. party in, 34; pol. in, 36; pol. unity in, 41; makes peace, 432; order in chair, 433 n.
- Hoover, Pres. Herbert: cited 2.
- Hospitals: fines applied to, 312.
- Huasteca Petroleum Co.: cited, 417.
- Huidobra, Caroline: cited, 88-9.
- Humboldt, Baron Alexander von: map by, cited, 154.
- Huerta, Adolfo de la: Mex. sec'y of hacienda, 412; U. S. oil men confer with, 414-5; defends buying of bonds, 418; cited, 417.
- Huerta, Victoriano (pres. of Mex.): activities, 409.
- Huerta-Lamont Agreement: terms, 416; made in 1922, 418.
- Huntington, Archer M.: creates book fund, 240.
- Hussey, Roland D.: cited, 301 n.
- Hutchinson, Thomas J.: cited, 15 n.

- I**BARRA, Pedro de (oidor): signs records, 385.
- Iguala, Plan of: announced, 31.
- Incas: writers on, 233; little enthusiasm for, in U. S., 234.
- Indians: invade Argentina, 12; decimated, 19, 20, 301; numerous in Guatemala, 20; in Cent. Amer., 20; status there, 21; like Brit. goods, 52; occupations in Bolivia, 256; important in independence movement, 259; conqueror's mix with, 287; of Hisp. Amer., submissive, 288; caudillism among, 290; Ferdinand issues ordinance rdg., 302; labor regulations for, 302; clerics do little for, 302; friars protest treatment of, 303; used in mining, 303; sufferings described, 304; council deliberates on, 304; must settle, 308-9; must have church and be instructed, 309, 310; children must be taught, 311-12; sick must have consolation of religion, 312; children must be baptized, 312-13; rest periods decreed for, 313; must be given food, 314; must practice monogamy, 314, 324; must have hammocks, 315; must be furnished clothing, 315-16; 324-5; must serve own master, 316; regulations rdg. caciques, 316-7, 325; accts. must be kept of, 317; no restrictions on treatment of slaves, 318, 325; brought from other islands, 318; regulations concerning death of encomendero, 318, 325; no. in repartimientos, 320; regulations rdg. women, 321-2, 324, 325; *id.*, children, 322, 324, 325; *id.*, Christians, 322-3; lazy, 323; attitude toward Span., 323; relation to conversion, 324; must attend church, 324; encomendero may punish only own, 325; must wear clothes, 326; trib. paid by, 377-86, 506; assigned to crown, 380; captured, 483; serves as interpreter, 487; caciques, 506; reports of work by, 506; trained for office, 506; revolt, 507; decree rdg., 508; enslaved in Peru, 512; expense caused by, 520.
- Kinda, named—Chiriquana, 377, 382;
- Incas, 233, 234, 387; Mayas, 18; Peruvian, 100-2; Quechua, 101; Yaquis, 482.
- Indies: Span., exposed, 273; coffee from, successfully used, 279; reforms in, 280; office's in autocratic, 289-90; Ferdinand inherits, 302; Span. money and wts., used in, 316 n.
- Inheritances: taxed, 383.
- Inquisition: activities, 513.
- Inscriptions: on statue, 87-92.
- Instructions: Williamson requests, 152; religious, 310, 314; to U. S. delegates, 427-8; rdg. arbitration, requested, 444; to Fray Marcos, 483-4; Mendoza gives, 486-8; various others, cited, 4 n, 6 n, 13 n, 48, 51-2, 186.
- Insurrections: reason for that against Ulloa, 47-48; O'Reilly quells, 48. *See also* Revolutions.
- Intendancies: defined, 22.
- Interamerican Bibliographical Ass'n: list compiled under auspices of, 493-502.
- International Amer. Cong.: app'n for, 422.
- Intern'l Bur. of Amer. Repubs. *See* Bur. of Amer. Repubs.
- Intern'l Coffee Cong.; meets in N. Y., 421.
- Interpreters: Ind. act as, 487.
- Intervention: Brit.-U. S. suggested, 153-4; by Napoleon in Sp., 171.
- Investments: U. S. in S. Amer., 94.
- Isabella (of Sp.): humane, 302.
- Islands: Franciscans in, 303. Various—
- Curasoa [Curaçoa], 209; Española (Hispaniola), 303, 305, 306 n, 317; Falkland, 269, 271; Galveston, 360; Isla de Mujeres, 482; Margarita, 209; Philippines, 281, 396; Porto (Puerto Rico), 278, 281, 301, 305, 425; San Juan (San Juan de Puerto Rico),

- 306 n, 309, 321 (*see also above*, Porto Rico); Santo Domingo, 303 (*see also above* Española); Tortola, 198; Trinidad, 209; West Indies, 145, 153, 154, 165, 171, 198, 208, 276.
- Italy: humbles Austrians, 3; shares in S. Amer. trade, 93; Mier in, 359, 360; attempts to collect debts by force, 445 n.
- Itriago-Chacín, Pedro: book reviewed, 470-2.
- Iturbide, Augustin Cosme Damian de: (Augustín I., emperor of Mex.): activities, 31; guarantees monarchy in Mex., 33; gains support in Cent. Amer., 35; becomes Augustín I., 40; falls, 39; compared to Pedro II., 39; cited, 37.
- JACKS, L. V.:** book noticed, 398-9.
- Jackson, Andrew: Burr visits, 159; leads west, 175.
- Jalisco, Mex.: conquest, 481; friars sent to, 485; explored, 488.
- James, H. G.: cited, 189 n.
- Jane, Cecil: appreciation, 355.
- Jara, Ramón Angel (bp.): address, cited, 91.
- Jaúregui, Augustín de: activities, 257.
- Jefferson, Mark: book noticed, 265.
- Jefferson, Thomas: Williamson hostile to, 150, 167; apptmts. by, 155; hostile to Burr, 167; Burr follows plan of, 167-8; Williamson tries to check, 169-70; attitude toward Fr., 169; Burr's attitude toward, 170; cited, 199.
- Jesuits: expelled from Span. Amer., 245 n; *id.*, Sp., 271.
- Joannini, F. L.: translator, 425.
- João VI. (king of Port.): neglects children, 177-8; returns to Europe, 179, 179 n, 187 n; loots Braz., bank, 180; Pedro ordered to obey, 184 n; his advice to Pedro, 186; death, 192, 196 n; his successor, 191; his barge used, 434 n; letters, cited, 180 n, 186, 186 n.
- Johnson, Pres. Andrew: message, cited, 15, 15 n, 17, 17 n.
- Jones, C. K.: reviews books, 84-6; notes by, 397.
- Jones, Chester Lloyd: reviews book, 462-3; book reviewed, 467-70; cited, 405 n.
- Juárez, Benito Pablo: a great teacher, 298.
- Juarros, Domingo: cited, 18 n, 19 n, 20 n, 21 n, 22 n, 24 n.
- Junta: Braz. com'l, abolished, 180.
- Jurists: comm'n of, proposed, 424; arranged for, 448.
- KEANE, A. H.:** cited, 19 n.
- Keller R., Carlos: note rdg., 529.
- Kentuckians: pol. aspirations of, 155.
- Kentucky: force from, ready to attack Span. settlements, 166.
- Kerney, J. O.: cited, 446 n.
- Kerosene: tax on, 408, 412.
- Keyes, Francis Parkinson: book reviewed, 229-30.
- King, C. R.: cited, 146 n.
- Koch, Theodore W.: thanked, 259 n.
- Krieg, Hans: book reviewed, 68.
- LABARCA, Eugenio** cited, 490.
- Laborers in Cent. Amer., 21.
- Lamero, Hernando (Span. adm.) activities, 383.
- Lampoons: posted in Rio, 190.
- Lands: Williamson speculates in, 145, 149; importance in Peru, 233.
- Langgard Menezes, R. O. de: cited, 188 n.
- Lanuza, ———: activities, 444 n.
- Larrinaga, T.: delegate to conf., 425.
- Law: intern'l violated, 2; taught in Peru, 231; codes, 424; comm'n of jurists for intern'l, arranged, 448.
- Laws: how caudillos observes, 293-4; of Burgos, 301-26.
- Lawsuits: in Peru, 503-4; of Arias Sotelo, 504-5; against Villegas, 507.
- Lanza y Lanza, Donato: inherits Acosta's collection, 247; sells it, 248.

- La Paz, Bolivia: Melgarejo flees from, 300; coll. of MSS. from, 242; offic^l of, 380; memo. on silver in, 506.
- La Plata; U. S. will not interfere in, 4; attitude toward mediation, 11; peace for, urged, 12; records of, 385.
- Larecajas: estate of, 379; accts. of, 381.
- Lartarin (Lartaun) Estevan de: taxes paid by, 379-80; collects trib., 380.
- Latorre, ———: letter to, cited, 54 n.
- Laxa (repartimiento): accts., 383.
- Lecuna, Vicente: notice rdg., 395.
- Leguia, Augusto B. (Peruvian pres.): a caudillo, 285.
- Legislation: considered at conf., 424.
- Leite, Aureliano: notice rdg., 392-3.
- León, Nicaragua: capital, 24; importance, 24; Span, party rules in, 34; jealous of Granada, 41; besieged, 42; rev'n in, 42; liberal element in, 42.
- Leopoldina, Donna: death, 193; letter by, cited, 185 n.
- Lettsom, W. G. (Eng. agt. in Uruguay): letter by, cited, 10 n.
- Leuchtenberg, Amelia de: Pedro marries, 194.
- Levene, Ricardo: activities, 491.
- Levillier, Roberto: notice rdg., 393, 538; cited, 233, 235.
- Lewis, Eleanor F.: thanked, 259n.
- Lewis, Wyndham: book reviewed, 474-6.
- Libraries: various mentioned, 90-1, 103-6, 145 n, 149 n, 150 n, 185 n, 198, 240-1, 242, 248, 272 n, 433 n, 441, 458, 490, 491.
- Lichtenstein, Walter: activities, 248; cited, 247 n, 248 n.
- Lille, Fr.: Croix born in, 276.
- Lima, Peru: cong. called for, 100; univ. in, 231; public improvements in 383; lawsuit in, 504; earthquake in, 512; mortality in, 512-13.
- Lincoln, Abraham: Sarmiento writes life of, 236.
- Lisbon, Port: Napoleon threatens, 178; João VI. returns to, 179; Pedro delays return to, 182; côrtes in, 184; Pedro in, 196.
- Llaverías, José: book reviewed, 66-7.
- Lloyd, Thomas (capt. of Brit. frigate): activities, 53; leaves N. O., 55; his argument, 57; letters to and by, cited, 46 n, 51 n, 53, 54 n, 56 n, 58 n.
- Loans: Burr gains, 174; Port. raised in Eng., 191.
- Lockey, Joseph Byrne: reviews book, 327-31; cited, 198 n.
- London, Eng.: relation to Cent. Amer., 45; firms of, in Indies trade, 57; position in financial mkt. of S. Amer., 94; Williamson returns to, 168; papers of 442-3.
- López, Capt.: first to enter Durango, 482; his explorations, 488.
- López, Francisco Solano. *See* Solano López, Francisco de.
- López Contreras, Gen. Eleazar: book reviewed, 463-6.
- Louis XV.: activities, 271; avoids war with Eng., 271.
- Louisiana: Brit. ordered from, 46, 55; contraband trade in, 46, 48; com. in restricted, 47; Brit. merchants trade in, 47; new com'l regulations pub. in, 51; Fr. trade favored in, 51; given partial freedom of com., 58; Wilkinson com'r of transfer of, 147; proposal rdg., 152; Brit. fear Fr. influence in, 154; Burr's inquiries rdg., cause suspicion, 154; unrest in, 161; Fr. may regain, 161; Fr. threaten, 166; revolt of Fr. in, 278.
- Lubricants: tax on, 408, 412.
- Lugones, Leopoldo: book noticed, 531.
- Lustosa da Cunha Paranagua, João: letter to, cited, 15 n.
- Lydenberg, Harry Miller: book reviewed, 478-9.
- MACHACA** la Chica, Bolivia (repartimiento): how taxes paid in, 385.

- Machaca la Grande (repartimiento): accts., 380.
- Machado y Morales, Gerardo (pres. of Cuba): his admin. characterized, 284-5; his place in Cuba, 298.
- McCaleb, Walter F.: cited, 146 n, 154 n, 157 n, 158 n, 159 n, 167 n, 168 n, 175 n.
- McMaster, Guy H.: cited, 145 n, 168 n.
- Madrid, Sp.: Belliard sends ambas. to, 272; secret committee formed in, 274; O'Reilly in, 277; mob in, 278.
- Madrazo, Antonio (Mex. offic'l): activities, 407.
- Maldonado, Luis (notary): activities, 508.
- Mallié, Augusto S.: death, 491.
- Malloy, William M.: cited, 5 n.
- Mancaneda, Pedro de (notary): activities, 504, 507, 509.
- Manchac: Brit. settle, 46; smuggling in, 49.
- Manchester, Alan K.: article, 176-97; cited, 182 n.
- Mange, ———: cited, 486, 486 n, 487, 488 n, 489.
- Manifesto: Braz., 181-2; presented to Pedro, 195. *See also* Decrees; and Proclamations.
- Manning, William B. cited, 457 n.
- Manuscripts: in Public Record Office, 178 n; calendars, 242-60, 359-75, 376-86, 503-21.
- Maps: Wilkinson sends, to sec'y of war, 146-7; Burr and Wilkinson collect, 154.
- Marcotola, Bernardo: accts., 510.
- Marcos de Niza. *See* Niza.
- Mareschal, Wenzel de: cited, 177 n.
- Maria da Gloria (daughter of Pedro II.): Pedro's ambition for, 176; becomes queen of Port., 192; goes to Europe, 196; acclaimed, 196 n.
- Mariaca, Manuel de (chancellor): activities, 510.
- Mariátegui, José Carlos: cited, 231-2; characterized, 232.
- Maritz, M.: activities, 279.
- Markham, Clements: importance in Peru, 234.
- Marroquin, José Manuel: Colombian caudillo, 299.
- Martin, F.: cited, 191 n.
- Martin, François-Xavier: cited, 50 n.
- Martin, Percy (Eng. author): 285, 285 n.
- Martin, Percy Alvin: reviews books, 59-61, 61-62, 331-3, 333-6; notes, 100-2, 139, 238-9, 355-6, 490, 491, 492, 529-38; activities, 240, 492, 544; cited, 143.
- Martínez de Rozas, Juan: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Martínez, Irala, Domingo: of humble extraction, 287; activities, 254 n.
- Martínez Zuviria (Hugo West): apptd. lib'n, 491.
- Marure, Alejandro: cited, 27 n, 29 n, 32 n, 34 n, 40 n, 41 n, 43 n, 44 n.
- Masaya, Cent. Amer.: refugees in, 42.
- Masones de Lima: letters to and by, cited, 277 n.
- Mathew, G. Buckley (Eng. min. to Argentina): letter by, cited, 10 n.
- Maya Society: activities, 261-2.
- Mayas: fight with Europeans, 18; formerly dominated Guatemala, 18.
- Mazorca (ear of corn): organized body of assassins, 294.
- Meacham, J. Lloyd: reviews book, 342-6; cited, 488 n.
- Meade, Richard: supports Mier, 362.
- Mediation of Hond.-Guat. Bound. Ques.*: cited, 23n.
- Medina, José Toribio: cited, 26 n, 232.
- Medina Verdugo, Antonio: pays taxes, 380.
- Medrano, Navarete, Juan de: reports by, 506; papers rdg., 507; death, 507.
- Megaraz, Gen.: murdered, 245 n.
- Melgarejo, Mariano: caudillo in Bolivia, 299; death, 300; sketch, 299-300.
- Mello Moraes, A. J. de: cited, 179 n, 180 n, 181 n, 182 n.
- Mellon, Andrew: activities, 417-18.
- Melo, Carlos F.: death, 491.

- Melo, Mario: book noticed, 266.
- Melville, Lord (Henry Dundas): activities, 151; impeached and driven from office, 151, 153, 161; effect of his impeachment, 167; restored to privy council, 169; favors Burr's plan, 161; Burr confers with, 171; characterized, 173; letters to and by, cited, 145 n, 151 n, 152 n, 154 n, 165, 169 n, 170 n, 171 n.
- Memoria del Ministerio*: cited, 7 n, 8 n, 11 n, 12 n, 13 n, 14 n, 17 n.
- Mendiburu, ———: cited, 232.
- Mendieta, ———: sources used by, 487; cited, 485, 485 n, 488 n.
- Mendoza, Alonso: activities, 385.
- Mendoza, Antonio de (viceroy of Mex.): rept. made to, 482; activities, 482, 483, 488; anxious to find Anian, 484; issues instructions, 486; attitude of Cortés toward, 487; cited, 483, 486 n, 487, 488.
- Mendoza Catano, Alonzo de (corregidor): accts., 381.
- Mendoza y Luna, Juan de (Marqués de Monteclaros): viceroy of Peru, 378.
- Menendez Pidal, Prof.: notice rdg., 390.
- Meng. John J.: activities, 492.
- Menocal, Mario García (pres. of Cuba): his admin. characterized, 284-5; his place in Cuba, 298.
- Merchandise: Ind. like Brit., 52.
- Merchants: Costa Rica blames Guatemalan, 25; Brit. in N. O., 46, 48, 57; criticise restrictions on com., 47; com'rs for Brit., 57; in Brazil, largely Port., 187 n; letter from to Lloyd., cited, 46 n, 51 n, 55-6.
- Merimée, ———: book reviewed, 84-6.
- Merry, ——— (Brit. min. to U. S.): Burr's contact with, 148, 156-7, 167; hopes to disrupt U. S., 156; news from, disappointing, 160; letters by and to, cited, 149, 149 n, 161 n, 162 n, 163 n.
- Messengers: sent from Rio, 184. *See also Agents.*
- Mestizos: in Cent. Amer., 21.
- Mexican Petroleum Co.: ceases to export, 414.
- Mex. petroleum taxes: article on, 405-19.
- Mexican Year Book*: cited, 405 n, 406 n, 419 n.
- Mexico: location, 21; Cent. Amer. settled from, 21; various settlements join, 23; forces sent to Cent. Amer., from, 26; pol. classes in, 34; Nicaragua separates from, 41; maps of, collected, 154; cession to U. S. feared, 171; com. of, kept exclusive, 274; rev'n in, 285; caudillism in, 285; various leaders in, 298, 299; Mier knows, 359; Mina leads exped. to, 360; records rdg., 385. Fr. withdraw from, 4; Fr. threaten, 166; Fr. influence in, feared, 171; guerrilla warfare in, 30; plan of Iguala, 33; attitude of Cent. Amer. toward, 33-4; invites Cent. Amer. to join, 37; army from, invades Cent. Amer., 39-40; empire overthrown, 40; Cent. Amer. independence from, desired, 43; Burr's relations with, 150, 152, 155; he plans to invade, 156, 157, 161, 168, 170; he asks passport for, 157; he is in danger in, 159; asks Burr's aid, 175; U. S. invasion of, suggested, 154; Williamson's plans rdg., 153; he values its importance, 165-6; J. de Gálvez sent to, 275; O'Reilly apptd. mil. inspector of, 278; relations with U. S., 405, 432, 443 n, 447; has deficit, 405, 412-13; its petroleum mostly exported, 406; petroleum used in, not taxed, 409; industrial cong. in, 409; its petroleum policy compared with that of Russia, 409; lays export petroleum tax, 411-19; petroleum industry developed in, 412; fears manipulation of values in N. Y., 413; shipments of oil from cease, 414; oil conf. held in, 414-15; proposal rdg. national debt, 415; petroleum decrees, 415-16; has agt. in N. Y., 417; buys bonds, 417; U. S. bankers go to, 418; petroleum tax reduced,

- 418-19; U. S. recognizes govt. of, 419; receipt from petroleum taxes, 419 n; Pan-Amer. resolutions signed in, 420; represented on Committee, 423 n; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n; conf. at., 426; sends delegates to conf., 427; conf. held in, 432, 445; order in chair, 433 n; resolutions by delegates of, 434 n; sanitary conf. arranged for, 446; Beltrán incurs hostility in, 481; cong. in, 482; Cabeza de Vaca reaches, 488.
- Mexico (city): Iturbide in, 37; Mier educated in, 359.
- Mier, Noreiga y Guerra, José Servando Teresa de: his archives, 359-75; cultured, 359; becomes Dom., 359; effect of sermon preached by, 359-60; tried by eccles. court, 359; captured, 360; his eccles. struggle, 362; sketch, 359-61; cited, 360, 361, 362.
- Miguel (brother of Pedro I.): mother favors, 177; exiled, 196; usurps Port. throne, 196.
- Militia: for Span. col. prohibited, 274.
- Millis, Walter; book reviewed, 76-7.
- Millis, James: his advice to Miranda, 172; letter by, cited, 164 n.
- Mina, Francisco: activities, 360.
- Minas Geraes (Braz. state): Pedro I. desires support of troops in, 181; enters conspiracy, 181; delegate for, 181 n; Pedro in, 183, 184; attitude toward him, 194-5.
- Mines and Mining: how worked in Bolivia, 256; Ind. used in, 302-303, 317; churches must be built at, 311; regulations rdg., 312, 325; pregnant women must not work in, 315; inspectors provided for, 318-19; rest period from, prescribed, 324; accts. of incomes of, 511; taxes of, 514-15, 518; gold, 519; silver, 506, 515.
- Miranda, Francisco de: Williamson's contact with, 145, 151, 165; Melville interested in, 151; Eng. advised to support, 152; rumor rdg. false, 161-2; complains of Burr, 162; in Caracas, 162; Eng. attitude toward, 163; attitude toward U. S., 163; *id.*, toward Burr, 164; suffers reverses, 167; plans fail, 170, 173-4; advised to enlist Burr's aid, 172; Thornton compared to, 199; characterized, 163.
- Mitre y Vedia, Bartolome: activities, 284; cited, 14, 14 n.
- Mitchell-Hedges, F. A.: book noticed, 540.
- Mobile, Ala.: Williamson urges Brit. occupation of, 169.
- Molina, Pedro: pol. activities, 30, 43; characterized, 30.
- Monopolies: com'l in La., 50.
- Monroe, James: correspondence with Winder, 457-61.
- Monroe Doctrine: determines policy, 3-4; Fr. admits, 4.
- Montague, A. J.: delegate to conf., 425; praised, 437 n.
- Monteiro, Tobias: cited, 178 n.
- Monterey, Mex.: Mier born in, 359.
- Montesino, Fr. Anton, O. P.: denounces treatment of Ind., 303; his reception in Sp., 304.
- Montufa, Manuel: cited, 27 n, 34 n, 41 n, 44 n.
- Monuments: myth rdg., Chilean-Argentine, 87-92; of Sarmiento, 236-41.
- Mora, Fernando de la: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Morales, ——— (Bolivian gen.): succeeds Melgarejo, 300; murdered, 245 n.
- Morelos, José María: Mex. masses rise under, 33.
- Moreno, Laudelino: cited, 22 n.
- Moreno, Mariano: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Morgan, Patrick: relations with Span., 57, 57 n.
- Morse, Hosea Ballou: book noticed, 142-3.
- Moseley, Manifiesto: its aims, 99.

Moses, Bernard: notice rdg., 396.
 Mulgrave, Lord: letters to, cited, 161 n,
 162 n, 163 n.
 Municipalities: Span., described, 38.
 Muniz Tavares, ———: pol. activities,
 188.
 Muñoz, Juan Bautista: activities, 359-
 60; MSS. cited, 321 n.
 Muret, Pierre: cited, 272 n.

NABUCO, Joaquim (ambas. for Braz. in
 U. S.): diplomatic activities, 423; dele-
 gate to conf., 426; elected pres. of
 conf., 431; honors Root, 434 n; cited,
 431-2, 441-2, 448-50.
 Nach, Joseph (Brit. smuggler): suit
 against, 50.
 Nachbin, Jac: calendar, 242-59, 376-86,
 503-21.
 Naon, M. (Argentine ambas. to U. S.):
 diplomatic activities, 236.
 Napoleon, *See* Bonaparte.
 Narvaez, Pánfilo de: his exped. unfortu-
 nate, 482.
 Natchez (Natches): Brit. settle in, 46;
 smuggling at, 49; Kentuckians ready
 to attack, 166.
 Navarro, Martin de: cited, 50.
 Navarro y Rocafoll, Melchor de: vice-
 roy of Peru, 509.
 Navas del Valle, Francisco: book re-
 viewed, 82-3.
 Nazas y Samaniego, ———: activities,
 482; death, 482.
 Negroes: Fr. allowed to import into La.,
 58; Fr. attitude toward, 166; mix with
 whites, 287.
 Nepean, Sir Evan: letters to, cited, 145 n,
 152 n.
 Neutrals: rights of, violated, 2.
 Nevame: explored, 482, 488.
 New Mexico: exped. to, easy, 159; Niza
 and discovery of, 481-9; exped. into,
 483, 487-8, 489.
 New Orleans, La.: importance, 166;
 smugglers seized in, 46; merchants of,

criticise com'l restrictions, 47; Brit.
 traders reside in, 47, 55; unmolested in,
 48; O'Reilly arrives in, 48; Brit. mer-
 chants ordered to leave, 49; Pollock
 not expelled from, 49; Lloyd leaves,
 55; com'rs from Pensacola in, 57;
 Williamson leaves, 147; Burr plans to
 go to, 155; Burr in, 158; he plans to
 seize, 164; Brit. asked to remove mil.
 stores to, 166; Wilkinson's activities
 at, 168; Fr. has free navigation to,
 276.

New Spain: Wilkinson plans conquest
 of, 146; J. de Gálvez sent to, 275.
See also Mexico.

New York: its relation to Cent. Amer.,
 45; land deals in, 145; Burr loses office
 in, 147; Wilkinson in, 147; Miranda
 in, 164; Williamson reaches, 167; he
 resides in, 169; attitude toward Burr,
 167; Wilkinson claims conspiracy in,
 168; Burr leaves, 171; connections with
 Mex. petroleum tax, 409-10; agreement
 made with Mex. creditors in, 416, 419;
 Mex. agt. in, 417; coffee cong. meets
 in, 421.

Nicaragua: physical features, 18, 24;
 pop., 20; reasons for importance, 24;
 cities in, 24; their rivalry, 24-5; Costa
 Rica attached to, 25; pol. activities in,
 28; Span. party in, 34; politics of,
 compared with those of San Salvador,
 36; reason for pol. indecision in, 41;
 exhausted by war, 42; pol. condition,
 42-3; caudillism in, 296; represented
 on committee, 425 n; order in chair,
 433 n.

Niemeyer, Sir Otto: activities, 97.

Nieto, Pedro: pays trib., 379.

Niza, Fray Marcos de: exped. by, 483,
 484, 489; first to explore certain lands,
 485; Coronado sends him to explore,
 487; considered imposter, 485; his rela-
 tion a primary source, 487; cited, 485,
 486.

Nobreza, Manoel: book reviewed, 333-6.

- Nolan, Philip: activities, 146-7.
- Normano, J. F.: notes by, 93-8, 236-41; reviews book, 223-5; book reviewed, 472-4.
- North and South Columbia: Thornton writes on, 200-7.
- Norton, ———: Brit. shipowner, 57 n.
- Nor-Yungas, Bolivia: importance, 244; location and pop., 244 n.
- Nueva Galicia: Guzmán returns from, 482; friars sent to, 485.
- Nueva Granada: record of, 385.
- Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar: returns to Mex., 488; effect of his report, 483.
- O**BREGON, Alvaro: recognized, 405, 419; export tariff policy under, 412; U. S. oil men confer with, 414-5.
- Obregon, Baltasar: cited, 482 n, 484, 484 n, 485, 485 n, 487, 489.
- O'Callaghan, E. B.: cited, 145 n, 171 n.
- Oceans and Seas: routes to, 18; Atlantic, 148, 209, 447 n; Caribbean, 18, 24, 259; Pacific, 23, 207, 259; South, 486.
- Octabio, Luis: signs statement, 377.
- Officials: functions, in Cent. Amer., 22-3; in Nicaragua, 24; revolts against Cent. Amer., 27; Span., accept independence idea, 32-3; status in Brazil, 190; autocratic in Hisp. Amer., 289-90.
- O'Higgins Family: bibliogr. rdg., 107-38.
- Olid, Cristóbal de: activities, 481, 488.
- Oliveira, Pedro M.: cited, 231.
- Oliveira Lima, Manoel de: cited, 177 n, 178 n, 181 n, 182 n, 183 n, 185 n, 186 n, 187 n, 188-9, 189 n, 191 n, 192 n.
- Oliveira Martins, J. P.: cited, 176 n, 177 n, 179 n, 187 n.
- Oporto, Port.: Pedro in, 196.
- Ordinances: rdg. Ind., 306-26. *See also* Decrees.
- Ordoñez, Cleto (Mex. off'cl): pol. activities, 41-2; becomes fed. off'cl, 42; characterized, 41.
- O'Rear, John D. (min. to Bolivia): activities, 248 n.
- Oregon: Span. conquest extends to, 481, 488.
- O'Reilly, Alejandro: a foreigner, 278; his apptmt, 278; arrives in N. O., 48; activities, 48-50, 277, 278-9; Pollock's relations with, 49, 49 n; leaves La., 50; limits Brit. right of navig'n, 54 n; his policy approved, 54 n; Fr. attitude toward, 273, 276-7, 280; visits Parish, 277; Span. attitude toward, 279; not disgraced, 279; letter to, cited, 49 n, 50 n.
- Orleans Territory: Burr plans col. for, 167.
- Orphans: regulations rdg. Ind., 325.
- Ortiz, Fernando: activities, 241; reviews book, 336-8; notice rdg., 358.
- Ortiz de Monastero, Sancho: rent administrator, 379.
- Ossun, Marquis d': aids Choiseul, 272; characterized, 279; letters to and by, cited, 270 n, 272 n-279 n.
- Ovando, Nicolas de (gov. of Sto. Dom.): establ. emcomiendas, 306 n.
- Ozquiano, Joseph (protector of Ind.): petition sent to, 509.
- P**ACAJES (Bolivian prov.): taxes collected in, 380; Medrano administers, 507.
- Paez, José Antonio (caudillo): his place in Ven., 298.
- Page, Jesse: cited, 90 n.
- Palma, Ricardo: writes of col. period, 232.
- Pan American Union: its pub., 266; activities, 358.
- Pan Americanism: not harmful to Europe, 454-5.
- Panama: reached by sea, 21; Cent. Amer. settled from, 21; Melville's plans rdg., 151; becomes repub., 281; rev'ns in, 285, 422 n, 481; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root visits, 441 n; book on, noticed, 265.

- Paraguay: efforts of U. S. to mediate in war of, 2-17; nature of war against, 2; effect of its policy, 5; U. S. conf. with, proposed, 6; subjugation awaited, 8; consents to U. S. mediation, 8; Caxias near, 8-9; demanded that López retire from, 9; refuses to change form of govt., 9; fails to reprimand Webb, 16; represented in Acosta coll., 249; caudillism in, 289-90, 298; its delegate to conf., 427; activities, 429 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root unable to visit, 441 n.
- Pardo, Gregorio: signs records, 385.
- Paris, Fr.: relations to Cent. Amer., 45; Burr in, 172; O'Reilly visits, 277; Mier in, 360; sanitary convention signed in, 421 n; newspapers of, 443.
- Pasamonte, Juan (treasurer): Ferdinand writes, 302.
- Pastells, Pablo, S. J.: book reviewed, 82-3.
- Patents: considered in conf., 424.
- Paula García Peláez, Francisco de (abp. of Guatemala): cited, 20 n.
- Payon, ———: cited, 483, 483 n.
- Pedro, Dom (prince of Port., and I. of Brazil) first emp. of Brazil, 176-97; early life, 177-9; hated by mother, 177; arouses conflicting opinions, 176; hero of Braz. revolt, 176; various activities, 176, 179, 181, 189, 192, 193, 195-6, 197; absolutist, 176, 190-1, 195; a colonial, 178; becomes regent of Brazil, 179; remains in Brazil, 179; granted authority by father, 180; ordered to Port., 180; joins conspiracy, 181; wishes to retain Port. right to throne, 181, 182, 187, 191, 192; powers limited, 181; clubs work with, 181 n; decides to remain in Brazil, 182; proclaimed savior of country, 183; visits São Paulo, 184; proclaimed emp. of Brazil, 185; evolution of his pol. faith, 185-6, 188; death of son, 186; gains gen'l support, 187 n; convokes and dissolves ass'y, 188, 195; sides with Port. absolutists, 189; proclaims constit'n, 189; Braz. cts. responsible to, 190; forced to ignore constit'n, 192; abdicates, 192, 196; attitude of Braz. toward, 192-3, 194-5; accused of cruelty to wife, 193, 193 n; returns to Rio, 194; yields to Braz. demands, 196; death, 197; characterized, 178-9, 187, 189, 190, 193, 197; compared to Washington, 179 n; a caudillo, 284; letters to and by, cited, 177 n, 184 n-185 n, 186, 186 n, 193 n.
- Pedro II. (of Brazil): continues Braganza dynasty in Brazil, 196.
- Peixotto, Afranio: book noticed, 538.
- Pepper, Charles M. (com'r): activities, 420 n; cited, 439, 439 n.
- Penalties: for infringement of ordinance, 311; for Ind., regulated, 317, 325; must be executed, 320; executed, 325. Various kinds—exile, 283; fines, 311-17; lashes, 316, 317; irons, 361.
- Pensacola, Fla.: Eng. frigate at, 54; com'rs of, plead for Eng., 57.
- Peredes, Ricardo S.: thanked, 245 n-246 n; cited, 247 n.
- Pereira, Baptista: note rdg., 529.
- Pereira, José Clemente (Braz.): activities, 182; speech, cited, 182.
- Pereira da Nobrega, Luiz: member of Braz. club., 181 n.
- Pereira da Silva, J. F.: cited, 178 n, 187 n, 188 n, 189 n, 191 n.
- Pereira de Souza, Washington Luis (pres. of Brazil): book noticed, 532.
- Pereira Pinto, Antonio: cited, 190 n.
- Pérez, Antonio: special fund, 379.
- Pérez, Jerónimo: cited, 35 n.
- Pérez Bustamante: Ciriaco: cited: 484, 487 n.
- Pérez de Mendia, Martín: collects taxes, 380.
- Periodicals and Newspapers: attitude in Paraguayan war, 11; Bolivian coll. bo't, 248; U. S. cause fear in Hisp.

- Amer., 441; attitude of Braz., 454. Various cited, 2 n, 6 n, 7, 7 n, 11, 30, 31 n, 49 n, 54 n, 87, 88, 89, 90, 90 n, 91, 99 n, 101, 102, 139, 147 n, 150 n, 159 n, 168 n, 176 n, 177 n, 179 n, 183 n, 184 n, 188, 188 n, 190 n, 193 n, 194 n, 195, 195 n, 196 n, 199, 233, 237, 245, 248, 264, 269 n, 272 n; 387, 387 n, 388, 389-90, 393, 394, 403, 405 n, 406 n, 409 n, 410, 411 n-16 n, 417, 417 n-20 n, 422 n, 425, 425 n, 426, 426 n, 427, 429 n, 433 n, 434 n, 436 n, 437 n, 438, 438 n, 439, 439 n, 440, 440 n, 441 n, 442, 442 n, 443, 443 n, 444, 444 n, 445 n, 446 n, 448, 448 n, 449 n, 451 n, 452 n, 453, 453 n, 454, 454 n, 455, 455 n, 456, 456 n, 490, 493.
- Pernambuco, Brazil: rev'n in, 181 n; secedes from Brazil, 190; D. Pedro unpopular in, 195; U. S. consul at, 439 n.
- Peru: Ind. of, 100-2; nativistic movement in, 233; native uprisings, 258-9; attitude in Paraguayan war, 3; recent hist. tendencies, 231-5; represented in Acosta coll., 249; caudillism in, 285, 298; rev'ns in, 285, Melgarejo escapes from, 299; he flees to, 300; record and reports of treasury in, 385, 510; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n, 444 n; represented on committee, 425 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root visits, 441 n.
- Perú Alto (Bolivia): Medrano Navarete in, 507; decree rdg. Ind. of, 508; govt. accts., 514-21. *See also* Bolivia.
- Peruvians: writing of ancient, 234.
- Peschel, Oscar: cited, 301 n.
- Petatlán, Mex.: pacified, 482.
- Peterson, Harold F.: article, 2-17.
- Petitions: of Ind., 506.
- Petroleum: Mex. taxes, 405-19; crude, defined, 407 n; combustible, defined, 407 n; values establ. for, 408; Mex., of lower grade, 410; exempt from export tax, 411; comparative value of U. S., 413; export tax, decreased, 414, 416, 418-19.
- Phelps, ———: cited, 47 n, 49 n.
- Philadelphia, Pa.: adventurers in, 146; Burr flees to, 148; center for Span.-Amer. intrigue, 148; Burr's activities in, 157; he meets Miranda in, 162; Thornton lives in, 198; Mier in, 361, 362.
- Philip V. (of Sp.): Fr. influence gains under, 270.
- Picornell, Juan: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Pierce, John: accidentally murdered, 167.
- Pierson, Harriet Wheeler: book noticed, 402.
- Pimentel, Albert: cited, 179 n.
- Pinheiro, Silvestre: cited, 179 n.
- Pino Guerra, ———: plots against fail, 298.
- Pinto Diago, César: book noticed, 430.
- Pitt, William: Melville friendly to, 151; interested in Burr's schemes, 161; death, 167, 168.
- Pizarro, Francisco: of low extraction, 287.
- Pollock, Oliver: not expelled from N. O., 49; supplies flour to N. O., 49.
- Pombo, Miguel de: Thornton compared to, 199.
- Ponce de Leon, Marco: mdse. taxed, 379.
- Pons, François Raymond Joseph de: notice rdg., 393.
- Ponte, José: activities, 248 n.
- Popham, Sir Home: S. Amer. activities, 151.
- Population: in Cent. Amer., 18, 19; Ind., decimated, 19-20; classes in Cent. Amer., 21; in Guatemala City, 26.
- Porras Barrenechea, Raúl: cited, 234-5.
- Portales, Diego: his service to Chile, 284.
- Portell Vilá, Herminio: reviews books, 64-6, 66-7, 227-8, 338-40; book noticed, 530.
- Portocarrero, Melchor: viceroy of Peru, 509; practices, 512.
- Portugal: côrtes, 179, 180, 184 n, 186, 187, 197; senado da camara, 181; de-

- crees issued in, 180, 184 n; constit'n for, promulgated, 192. Effect of rev'n in, 179; plans of attack formulated, 277; loses col., 281; has little liberty, 290. Restricts Brazil, 180; Brazil desires equality with, 182; Braz. independence declared, 185; Brazil freed from, 76; Pedro fears separation, 186; refuses to acknowledge Brazil, 190-1; recognizes Brazil, 192; Port.-Brazil treaty, 191; Pedro desires throne of, 182; union with Brazil, feared, 188 n; Pedro's activities in, 196-7. Fr. and Eng. desire to control, 178; Eng. makes loan to, 191; Fr. excluded from settlement with, 271; Mier in, 360; inquisition in, 513. *See also* Brazil; and Portuguese.
- Portuguese: attitude of Braz., toward, 183, 188, 195; sold. in Brazil, 183; commit excesses in Brazil, 187 n; expelled from Brazil, 187-8; individualists, 286.
- Pratt, Bela L.: makes model for Sarmiento statue, 237.
- Prescott, William H.: importance in Peru, 234.
- Press: influences public opinion, 2-3; establ. in Guatemala City, 26; freedom guaranteed in Sp., 30; liberty desired in Brazil, 190.
- Prevost, J. B. (Burr's stepson): judge in N. O. terr., 155.
- Prices: flour in N. O., 49 n; petroleum, how obtained, 405 n.
- Priestley, Herbert Ingram: becomes ed., 1; cited, 270 n, 273, 273 n, 275 n, 405 n.
- Priests: law not enforced against in Bolivia, 245 n; must be furnished Ind., 324.
- Prisoners: Eng. sailors made, 56.
- Prisons: Sacasa in, 42.
- Privateers: Anglo-Amer., 55.
- Proclamations: against smuggling, 53; of B. de Gálvez, cited, 58 n; Braz., issued, 183; of Braz. constit'n, 189; issued by Pedro, 197. *See also* Decrees.
- Provinces: connotation, 22.
- Prussia: attacks Denmark, 3; recognizes Braz., 192.
- Pueyrredón, Juan Martín de: delegate to cong., 457.
- Puxa, Bolivia: trib. from, 379.
- QUESADA**, Hector C. (hijo): apptd. director of archives, 491.
- Quesado, Ernesto: book noticed, 263.
- Quiroga, Facundo: an Argentinian caudillo, 283; Sarmiento immortalizes, 299.
- Quispe, Bernaue: cacique, 510-511.
- RADAELLI**, Sigfrido A.: book noticed, 533.
- Ragatz, Lowell J.: activities, 492.
- Railways: aid in centralization in Cent. Amer., 297; Pan Amer., 420, 420 n-21 n, 424, 446.
- Ramirez, ——— (delegate for Uruguay): activities, 444 n; address, cited, 451.
- Ravignani, Emilio: book reviewed, 222-3.
- Rebels: against Eng. col., 54. *See also* Revolutions.
- Recop. de Leyes*: cited, 21 n, 22 n.
- Reeves, J.: letter to, cited, 172 n.
- Reforms: Fr. plan Span., 273; com'l in Sp., planned, 274-5; planned by secret committee, 280.
- Reinsch, Paul S.: delegate to conf., 425; cited, 425 n, 426 n, 432 n, 449 n, 451 n.
- Regulations: trade, feared in La., 48; Span. com'l issued, 51; added to laws of Burgos, 305.
- Remón, Capt. Juan; heads exped., 377; his trib., 377.
- Renaut, Francis P.: cited, 270 n.
- Rengifo, Amalio: signs testimonial, 377-8.
- Rengifo, Mateo (encomendero): heads exped. against Ind., 377.
- Reparaz, Gonzalo de: book noticed, 535-6.
- Reparaz, Gonzalo (hijo): book noticed, 260.

- Report of Delegates*: cited, 420 n, 421 n, 422 n.
- Resende, ———: letter to, cited, 192 n.
- Residencia: visitadores of Ind. must stand, 320, 325.
- Resolutions: of Pan Amer. conf., 420 n-22 n, 432 n, 443, 444, 445, 446, 446 n, 447, 448 n.
- Restrepo, Carlos E. (pres. of Colombia): notice rdg., 391.
- Revenues: committee studies increase of, 274; various in Alto Perú, 511-12, 514-21.
- Revolts: in Cent. Amer., 26; crushed, 29. *See also* Revolutions.
- Revolutions: influenced by Amer. and Fr., 26; local, in Nicaragua, 41; imminent in Span. Amer., 160; fails in Ven., 172; Braz., 176, 179 n, 196; Span., affects Port., 179; effect of Port. and Braz., 179; prov. secede in, 190; Mex., 285; motive for Mex., 405; in Hisp. Amer., 285; their effects, 290; fought for principle, 291; many in B.A., 296; in Bolivia, 299-300.
- Reyes, ———: Salvadorean delegate to conf., 427.
- Reyes, Alfonso: reprints sketch of Mier, 361.
- Ribeiro, Julio: has copies of Pedro's letter, 193 n.
- Richardson, James D.: cited, 15 n, 17 n, 421, 441 n, 453 n.
- Rio-Branco, Baron de: elected hon. pres. of conf., 432; welcomes Root, 434 n; activities, 437 n; addresses, 430, 450-1.
- Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Port. royal family flees to, 178; senado da camara of, 180; Pedro asks support of troops in, 181; backs conspiracy, 181; work of independence club in, 181 n; sold. quartered in, 183; messenger sent from, 184; D. Pedro in, 185; council meets in, 185 n; D. Pedro flees from, 186; com'l treaty negotiated in, 191 n; news of João VI. reaches, 192; attitude toward Pedro, 193, 195; conf. in, 420-56; sanitary conv., signed at, 421 n; U. S. delegate arranged for, 422; invitation for conf. issued, 423, 425; conf. opened, 429; Root reaches, 434 n; Root entertained in, 437 n; U. S. vice-consul in, 439 n; law com'n arranged for, 448.
- Rio de la Plata: pub. opinion in, 7; gains new prov., 291.
- Rio Grande do Sul (Braz. prov. and state joins rev'n, 182.
- Rios, Francisco de los: roy. treas., 377.
- Riots: in Brazil, 195. *See also* Revolts.
- Rippy, J. Fred: activities, 267, 492; reviews books, 476-7; book reviewed, 541-2.
- Rister, Carl C.: book noticed, 264-5.
- Riva Agüero, José de la: writes of col. Peru, 232-3.
- Rivadavia, Bernardino: pol. belief, 286.
- Rivero, Licentiate: special fund of, 379.
- Rivers: navigation considered, 425 n. Named—Fuerte, 488; Guapay, 254; Guayana, 259; Hambre, 208; Mayo, 488; Mississippi, 47, 51, 53, 54, 57, 154, 156, 158, 276; Mocorito, 482, 488; Ohio, 158; Paraguay, 209; Paraná, 5 n, 15; Petatlán, 488; Rio Bravo, 207; Sabine, 168; St. Johns, 151, 208; Sinaloa, 482, 488; Uruguay, 5 n; Washita, 167; Yaqui, 488; Ypiranga, 185.
- Robertson, James Alexander: reviews books, 80-3, 478-80; compiles bibl. list, 522-9; cited, 50 n.
- Robertson, Sir Malcolm (Brit. ambas. to Argentina): speech, cited, 98.
- Robertson, William Spence: cited, 3 n, 145 n, 151 n, 164 n, 199.
- Robinson, Samuel. *See* Rodríguez, Simón.
- Rocafuerte, Vicente (pres. of Ecuador): cited, 363.
- Rocha, Jose Joaquim de: member of Braz. Club, 181 n.
- Rocha Pombo, ———: cited, 190 n.

- Rockefeller, John D., Jr., establ. research fund, 241.
- Rodney, George Brydges: book noticed, 543.
- Rodríguez, Simón (Sam'l Robinson): Mier joins, 360.
- Rodríguez de Fonseca, Juan: serves Ferdinand, 321 n.
- Romero, ——— (Bolivian delegate): activities, 448 n.
- Romero, C. Matias: cited, 40 n.
- Romero, Carlos A. (director of Bibl. Nac'l, Peru): works, cited, 235.
- Roosevelt, Theodore: activities, 420, 421, 421 n, 422, 441; cited, 440-1, 441 n, 453.
- Root, Elihu: activities, 427; elected hon. pres. of conf., 432; publicly honored, 432, 433-7; effect of his visits, 438-43; countries visited, 441 n; address, 434-6; cited, 434 n, 437 n, 453.
- Ros y Compañía (ship owners): Span. case against, 57 n.
- Rosa, Ramón: cited, 31 n.
- Rosas, Juan Manuel: Urquiza overthrows, 283; perhaps best Argentine caudillo, 284; of gaucho class, 289; his method of govt., 294; red, his emblem, 294-5; place in Argentina, 298.
- Rosenberg, S. L. Millard: reviews book, 225-7; books noticed, 542.
- Roth, Walter E.: book noticed, 265, 401.
- Rowe, Leo S.: delegate to conf., 425; cited, 423 n, 425 n, 439-40, 449 n.
- Rozas, H. G.: cited, 233.
- Roure, Agenor de: cited, 176 n.
- Rousseau, François: cited, 271 n.
- Rubio, Rev. Dr. David: activities, 239-40.
- Ruiz de Bustillo, Miguel: roy. treas., 378; his accts., 380, 383, 384; signs record, 385.
- Russia: defeated at Sebastopol, 3; Seaward denies its right of intervention, 7; intervention in U. S. by, 7 n; attitude toward Pan-Amer., 455.
- SACASA**, Crisanto: sketch, 41; escapes, prison, 42; killed, 42.
- Sáenz, Moises: cited, 405 n.
- St. Augustine, Fla.: Burr plans to go to, 150.
- St. Louis, Mo.: Wilkinson's headquarters, 155; Burr in, 158, 159.
- Sala, Juan de: pays taxes, 380.
- Sala, Luis de: brother inherits his property, 380.
- Salaries and Wages: granted to Span. offic'ls in Cent. Amer., 33; records, 511.
- Salazar, Bartolomé: Span. offic'l, 508.
- Salazar, Ramón A.: cited, 31 n.
- Salis Holquin, Capt. Gonzalo de: activities, 254.
- Salvador. *See* San Salvador.
- Samaniegos, ———: activities, 488.
- Sampaio, Theodoro: book reviewed, 333-6.
- San Andres, Peru: Ind. of, petition, 506.
- San Domingo: order in chair, 433 n.
- San Jacinto; effect of battle of, 175.
- San José, Costa Rica: overshadows Cartago, 25; pol. sentiment in, 35-6; becomes capital, 43; defeats Cartago, 43; conf. in, 395-6.
- San José de Chiquitos, Bolivia: identified, 254.
- San Juan, Bolivia: tercios of, 506.
- San Lorenzo el Real, Bolivia: location and identity, 254.
- San Martín, José de: activities, 29; Thornton compared to, 199; suggests monarchical govt., 259 n; a caudillo, 284; pol. theory, 297.
- San Miguel de Culiacán, Mex.: founded, 482, 488; Span. conquistador in, 482; exped. in, 483; Coronado in, 486.
- San Salvador, Cent. Amer.: physical features, 18, 23; pop. 20; becomes intendencia, 23; desires bpre., 23; becomes separate prov., 23-4; absorbs Sonsonata, 23-4; revolts in, 27, 29, 285; factors in, 27-8; pol. sentiment in, 36;

- opposes annexation, 39; Filósolea attempts to conquer, 40; pol. unity in, 41; its delegate to conf., 427; makes peace, 432; order in chair, 433 n.
- Sánchez, José Aurelio: marries Melgarejo's daughter, 300.
- Sánchez, Luis Alberto: works described, 232; book noticed, 432.
- Sandoval, Gonzalo de (conquistador): activities, 481, 488.
- Sanitation: considered at conf., 424, 426.
- Santa Anna, Antonio López de: characterized, 298.
- Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia: history, 254-5; Ind. of, hostile, 377.
- Santa Fé, N. M.: Wilkinson plans conquest, 141; Pike leads exped. to, 168.
- Santaella, Joaquin: proposes change on petroleum taxes, 407.
- Santiago, Chile: papers of, 442; desires conf., 446 n.
- Santos, Bolivia: taxes paid in, 380.
- Santos, Brazil: D. Pedro in, 184.
- Santos, José Maria dos: book noticed, 532.
- São Paulo, Brazil: backs conspiracy, 181; Pedro asks support of troops in, 181; junta of, 181 n; D. Pedro in, 184, 185; sends letter to him, 184; he is unpopular in, 195.
- Saravia, ——— (gov. of Nicaragua): activities, 41.
- Sarmiento, D. F.: admires U. S., 236; immortalizes Quiroga, 299; his monument, 236-41; not in Boston, 237.
- Schäffer, G. A. (agt. for Pedro in Ger.): sends Bösche to Brazil, 195.
- Schuller, Rudolph: cited, 248 n.
- Scientific Pan Amer. Cong., postponed, 240.
- Scott, James Brown: cited, 421 n.
- Scott, S. P.: book reviewed, 216-8.
- Secession: attempted in Brazil, 190.
- Second Int'l Amer. Conf.: activities, 422-3; report on, cited, 423 n.
- Selliner, Carlos (Mex. offic'l): cited, 413-4.
- Serrano, Prof. Jonathos; notice rdg., 391.
- Servants: Ind. become, 21.
- Settlements: evolution in growth, in Cent. Amer., 23.
- Seven Cities of Cibola: sought, 482. *See also* Cibola.
- Seville, Sp.: new center for Amer. study, 237-8.
- Seward, William H.: activities, 4; Uruguayan charges against, 7; reprimands Webb, 16; untactful, 13; letters to and by, cited, 4 n, 5, 5 n, 6 n, 8 n, 10 n, 11 n, 13, 13 n, 14 n, 16, 16 n, 17 n.
- Shepherd, William R.: cited, 146 n.
- Ships: Gálvez seizes smuggling, 46, 51, 55, 56; trade in La., 46; at N. O., 47; foreign excluded from N. O., 48 n; confiscated, 52-3; condemnation probable, 56; right of search of, denied, 57; secretly released, 57; duty on Fr. reduced, 58; Burr plans to seize, 164; compelled to return to port, 172; built, 279; poor service between U. S. and S. Amer., 447 n. Nationality—Argentine, 434 n; Braz., 429 n, 434 n; Brit., 46, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 172, 196, 259, 447 n; Fr., 47, 53, 54; Ger., 434 n, 447 n; Ital., 447 n; Span., 52, 304; Port., 196; U. S., 54, 55, 56, 429 n, 432 n, 434 n, 447. Kinds—barges, 158, 434 n; canoes, 55; frigates, 54, 279; launches, 434 n; merchantmen, 46; of the line, 279; privateers, 55; tugs, 434 n; war, 52, 196, 429 n, 434 n; Names—*Atlanta*, 53; *Bryan*, 429 n; *Charleston*, 434 n; *Marblehead*, 432 n; *Margarita*, 53, 54; *Marie*, 53, 54; *West Florida*, 53, 55.
- Shirts: Ind. must make, 317, 325, paid as trib., 380.
- Sigfried, André: notice rdg., 490-1.
- Silva Lisboa, José da: cited, 177 n, 184 n.

- Sinaloa (Mex. prov. and state): Guzmán in, 482; explored, 488.
- Sinclair, Harry F.: confers with Mex. office's, 414-5.
- Slaves: among native Bolivians, 256; Ind. may be treated as master wishes, 318; treatment of Ind., 325; Mendoza buys, 483.
- Slavetrade: in Brazil, 191-2; treaty rdg., 191-2.
- Smith, Daniel: finances expd., 360.
- Smith, Frances Rand: book reviewed, 476.
- Smith, Susan: book noticed, 262.
- Smugglers: Gálvez seizes, 46, 51; Eng. on Mississippi, 46-58; suits against Brit., 50.
- Smuggling: O'Reilly lessens, 49; resumed in La., 50, 57-8.
- Socomuco: favors Mex., 23; Guatemala loses, 24.
- Solano López, Francisco de (Paraguayan dictator): overthrow sought, 2; Washburn friendly to, 8; resignation demanded, 9; aided by delay, 10; a caudillo, 283; cruel, 8; his place in Paraguay, 298.
- Soldiers: in Brazil, revolt, 183; Port. expelled from Brazil, 187-8; Braz., desert, 196.
- Solis, Abelardo: cited, 233.
- Soltan, Roger H.: cited, 271 n.
- Sonora (Mex. prov. and state): Guzmán in, 482; explored, 488.
- Sonsonato: San Salvador absorbs, 23-4.
- Sota la Marina: Mina at, 360.
- Soto, Hernando de: in lawsuit, 487.
- Souza Queros, Vicente de: cited, 195 n.
- Spain: expansion, in Amer., 481; consejo de Indias in, 252, 256, 487; constit'n of 1812, 22, 28; constit'n reestabl. (1820), 30; liberalism in, 28; has little liberty, 290; result of fall of Napoleon, 29; rev'ns, 30, 179; Span. office's return to, 33; anticlerical tendencies in, 33; committed to mercantilist theory, 49; settles Placentine Question, 269; industries of, revived, 270; Jesuits expelled from, 271; O'Reilly returns to, 278; cannon sent to, 279; Espinal in, 303; Montesinos sent to, 30; cédula in, 305; Mier in, 359; he escapes from, 360. Relations with Ind., 3; laws of Burgos, 301-26; relations with S. Amer. countries, 6; with Cent. Amer., 20, 26; army driven from Bogotá, 29; independence of col. from, advocated, 30, 31; Costa Rica independent of, 35; loses col., 41, 281; roy. family of, in captivity, 171; effect of col. reforms, 271-2. Revolts against Napoleon, 26; Nap. intervenes in, 171; he abandons, 172; rises against Fr., 171; allied with it, 269; Fr. desires com. with, 269; Fr. influence in, grows, 270; lukewarm to Family Compact, 271; urges Vergennes to succeed Choiseul, 271-n; Fr. guides reforms in, 273-4; concedes trading privileges to Fr. W. Ind., 276; Fr. sends officers to, 279; rev'n in, affects Port., 179. Relations with Eng., 58, 146, 171, 269, 271; attitude toward U. S., 147-8, 161, 163. *See also* Spaniards.
- Spaniards: method of taking testimony, 57; aggressive, 166; individualists, 286; friars complain of, 303. Settle Cent. Amer., 18-19; dominate it, 20-1; in Guatemala City, 26; Mex. opposes, 33; attitude toward Anglo-Amer., 166; advance beyond Sabine, 168; Wilkinson's machinations with, 168; he is subsidized by, 169; Ind. attitude toward, 323; Ind. serve, 324. *See also* Spain.
- Speech of Daniels*: cited, 426 n.
- Spell, Jefferson Rea: book noticed, 399-400.
- Spell, Lota M.: calendar by, 359-75.
- Spratling, William: book reviewed, 476-7.

- Staden, Hans: book reviewed, 333-6.
- Standard Oil Co.: ceases to export oil from Mex., 414.
- Stanger, Francis Merriman: article, 18-45.
- Stanhope, Lord: cited, 153 n.
- Stanley, Lord: letter to, cited, 10 n.
- Statesmen's Year Book*: cited, 419 n.
- Statistics: of real hacienda, 510.
- Stephenson, ———: letter by, cited, 57 n.
- Stiell, ———: letter by, cited, 53 n.
- Stimson, Frederick J.: cited, 237.
- Stone, N. J.: com'l attaché at conf., 426.
- Stores: taxed, 518-19.
- Storm, Miriam: book reviewed, 228-9.
- Strangford, ———: letter by, cited, 178 n.
- Stuart, Sir Charles (Brit. diplomatic agt.): pol. activities, 191 n.
- Suárez, Gregorio (oidor): signs record, 385.
- Suárez de Figueroa, Lorenzo: activities, 254-5.
- Suárez de Vittoria, G.: collects tribute, 389.
- Suffrage: result of universal, in *Hisp. Amer.*, 292.
- Sweden: recognizes Brazil, 192.
- T**ABLARES Coello, Juan de: sale by, 503.
- Talleyrand, Charles Maurice de: an exile, 165; Williamson's belief rdg., 166.
- Tamayo y Francisco, Juan: apptd. director of archives, 357.
- Tapia, Luys de (corregidor): collects trib., 377.
- Tar: in trade, 52; as cargo, 56.
- Tariffs: Mex., 411, 411 n.
- Taunay, Dr. Affonso: notice rdg., 102.
- Taxes: collecting agency, 22; poll, 301; Ind. pay, 379, 506; how paid, 380, 381, 385; Mex. petroleum, 405-19; how computed, 409-10; repealed, 415; decrees rdg., 415-16; paym't postponed, 419; collection of, etc., 514-21. *See also*, Tributes.
- Taylor, H.: cited, 448 n.
- Teagle, Walter C.: confers with Mex. offic'ls, 414-15.
- Tegucigalpa, Honduras: location and importance, 24; favors Guatemala, 34-5.
- Tehuantepec Isthmus: boundary of Cent. Amer., 21.
- Telles da Silva, Antonio: cited, 177 n, 196 n.
- Tello, ———: sources used by, 487; cited, 481, 481 n, 485-6, 486 n, 488 n, 489.
- Tello, Julio C.: Peruvian archeologist. 233.
- Tessmann, Günter: book reviewed, 68-9.
- Tepic, Mex.: conquest, 481.
- Texas: Nolan in, 146; feeling in, tense, 147; Burr interested in, 154.
- Texas Knights of Columbus Hist. Com'n: notice rdg., 356-7.
- Thayer, Dean: cited, 250-1.
- The Hague, Netherlands: has replica of S. Amer. monument, 88; subjects proposed for discussion at, 424, 444 n, 445
- Third Intern'l Conf. at Rio: acct. of, 420-61; arranged, 423; program, 424-5; opened, 429; its work, 443-8; report of, cited, 430 n-34 n, 436 n, 437 n, 445 n-8 n, 450 n, 451 n, 465 n.
- Thomas, Leslie: book noticed, 266, 402
- Thompson, George: cited, 8 n.
- Thompson, Wallace: book reviewed, 462-3
- Thornton, Edward: letter, cited, 10 n.
- Thornton, William: cited, 197; characterized, 198; sketch, 198; his outline, 198-215.
- Tiaguanao (repartimiento): writs rdg., 506.
- Tierra Firme: a strategic point, 259.
- Tithes: regulation rdg., 311; clergy pay, 382; accts. of, 516.
- Toledo, Francisco de (viceroy of Peru): doc. in term of, 377; lawsuit, 503-4; activities, 507.

Tolotlán, Mex.: Guzmán in, 481; explored, 488.

Topira, (Topia; prov.): Coronado explores, 483, 486, 488.

Torrence, José A.: letter, cited, 362.

Trademarks: uniform discussed, 424, 448.

Treaties: infringed, 2; U. S. attitude toward, of alliance, 9; rights given by, in navigation, 54; Eng. demand com'l with Brazil, 191; rdg. slavetrade, 191-2; com'l, 191 n; peace of Paris, 270; U. S.-Argentine, 5 n; Port.-Eng., 191; arbitration, 424.

Tribute: Ind. labor substituted for, 301; collection of, 377; how used, 377; Ind. pay, 377-86; paid in kind, 383; transferred, 384; accts. of, 510, 515-21. *See also* Taxes.

Trimborn, ——— (Ger. author): writes of Peru, 234.

Tupac Amaru (Inca): importance of his rev'n, 259; MS. on movement of, 258.

Turner, O.: cited, 145 n.

UGARTE, César Antonio: cited, 231, 233.

Ugarte, Manuel: notice rdg., 356.

Ugarte, Marcelino (Argentine min.): relations with Asboth, 14-5; letter to, cited, 14 n.

Ullivarri, Saturnino: book reviewed, 225-7.

Ulloa, Alberto: cited, 231.

Ulloa, Antonio (first Span. gov. of La.): unpopular, 47; reason for insurrection against, 47-8; expelled from La., 48.

Unitarians (pol. party in Argentina): their symbol, 295.

United Provinces of S. Amer.: Pueyrredón directs, 457.

United States (of N. Amer.): position in Amer., 4-5; tries to mediate in Paraguayan war, 2-17; mediation refused, 2, 16-7; proposes mediation, 3-8; will not interfere in La Plata, 4; joins in treaties, 5, 5 n; proposes conf., 6;

id., armistice, 6; Argentina resents efforts of, 12-3; renews mediation offer, 15-6; fails in diplomacy, 17; El Salvador desires annexation to, 40 n; govt. of, imitated, 44, 289; shares in S. Amer. trade, 93; growth of investments in S. Amer., unique, 94; trade rival of Gt. Brit., 94-5, 96; Brit. controversy with, 153; attitude toward Gt. Brit., 167-168, 171; trade successes to new commodities, 95-6; separatist plans in, 145-75; war with Sp. threatened, 147-8, 161; proposal to allow to take Florida, 152; Burr plans to divide, 161, 184; Burr hopes to return to, 174; attitude toward Napoleon, 161; Talleyrand an exile in, 165; Fr. threaten, 166; Fr. officers in, 179; favors Span.-Amer., independence, 174; Puerto Rico annexed to, 281; a check on Cuban caudillos, 284-5; Mier in, 359-60; how policy toward Mex. determined, 405; relations with, 405, 432, 443 n; crude petroleum of, compared with Mex., 413; oil men of, protest Mex. tariff, 413 n; Roosevelt sends papers to cong., 420; app'n asked from, 421 n; resolutions introduced into cong. of, 422 n; admin. Dom. finances, 422 n; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n; its delegates to conf., 425-6; attitude of Ven. toward, 425 n; order in chair, 433 n; attitude of other Amer., toward, 434 n; Montague honors, 437 n; its delegate cited, 438, 446 n-7 n, 453; influence at conf., 444 n; attitude toward Drago Doctrine, 445 n; resignation by, desired by United Prov., 457; attitude toward independence of Span. col., 460. Sen. J.L., cited, 7 n; sen. docs. cited, 420 n-3 n, 425 n-34 n, 436 n, 438 n, 443 n-8 n, 453 n, 456 n. State dept. activities, 5; MSS. in, cited, 4 n-16 n; war dept. MSS., cited, 147 n.

Unzaga, Luis de (gov. of La.): fears

- Brit., 50; activities, 50; letter by, cited, 50 n.
- Uribe Antonio José: notice rdg., 529.
- Uribe y Uribe, ———: address, 450.
- Uriel García J.: cited, 233.
- Urquiza, Justo José de: overthrows Rosas, 283.
- Urrutia, Carlos: succeeds Bustamante, 29; characterized, 29; his successor, 32.
- Urrutia, Juan de: activities, 254-5.
- Urteaga, Horacio H.: debt of Peruvian culture to, 235; cited, 233.
- Uruguay: refuses mediation, 2, 10, 16-7; U. S. proposes conf. with, 6; attitude toward U. S., 7; Brit. trade com'n visits, 98; a turbulent country, 284; caudillism in, 284-6, 286-7, 298; attitude toward arbitration, 424 n; activities, 429 n; order in chair, 433 n; Root visits, 441 n; its delegate to conf., 444 n, 451.
- V**ACA de Villa Antonio: activities, 507.
- Valcárcel, Luis E.: cited, 233.
- Valdez de la Torre, Carlos: cited, 233.
- Valladão, Alfredo: cited, 194 n.
- Valladolid, Sp.: regulations proclaimed at, 305; ordinance given at, 321.
- Valle, José Cecilio: founds newspaper, 30; described and characterized, 30-1.
- Valle, Rafael Heliodoro: cited, 32 n, 34 n-9 n.
- Vallejo, R.: cited, 34 n, 35 n, 36 n.
- Vallièrre, Marquis de: sent to Sp., 279.
- Values: for Petroleum establ., 408.
- Van de Grift Sánchez, Mrs. Nellie: book noticed, 535.
- Van Deusen, Richard James and Elizabeth Kneipple: book reviewed, 346-50.
- Van Dyke, Harry Weston: cited, 90 n.
- Van Dyke, J. W.: confers with Mex. oil men, 414-5.
- Van Leer Polk, M. ———: delegate to conf., 425.
- Van Patten, Nathan: book noticed, 536-7.
- Vargas, José María: book reviewed, 61-2.
- Varnhagem, Francisco de: cited, 183 n.
- Vasconcelos, José: activities, 531.
- Vásquez, Leopoldo (Mex. off'cl): activities, 407.
- Vatican: recognizes Brazil, 192.
- Vázquez de Coronado, Francisco: activities, 482-3, 486-8; letter, cited, 484, 486.
- Velázquez, Rodrigo: paym't by, 380-1.
- Venezuela: rev'n fails in, 172; represented in Acosta coll., 249; Fr. W. Indies given trade privileges in, 276; caudillism in, 298-299; episode of 1907, 422 n; not represented at conf., 425 n, 427; attitude toward U. S., 425 n.
- Vera Cruz, Mex.: D. Clark visits, 158; Williamson reports on, 169; Mier sent to, 361.
- Vera y Padua, Fernando: accts., 381.
- Vergennes, Charles Gravier: becomes min., 271; urged as Choiseul's successor, 271 n, cited, 276 n, 278-9, 279 n.
- Verrill, A. Hyatt: books reviewed, 352-4.
- Vetancurt, Fray Agustín de: cited, 487, 487 n.
- Villa, Pancho: Mex. caudillo, 284; characterized, 299.
- Villalobos, ——— (fiscal): opinion, 487.
- Villages: Ind. must live in, 302.
- Villegas, Andrés de: signs doc., 507; sued, 507.
- Villiers du Terrage, B. Marie: cited, 47 n.
- Vincennes, Ind.; Burr in, 159.
- Vinero, Juan; fund paid by, 379.
- Virginia: dominates U. S., 150.
- Visitors: provided for Ind., and duties, 318-9, 320.
- Viveiros de Castro, A. Olympio: cited, 183 n.
- W**AGNER, Henry R.: book reviewed, 79-80.

- Wall, Ricardo (Span. min.): opposes Fr., 269; Grimaldi succeeds, 269; letter to, cited, 277 n.
- Walsh, William Thomas: book reviewed, 342-6.
- Warburg, Paul M.: address, cited, 94 n.
- Wars: Paraguayan, 2-17; mediation in, suggested, 6; destroys com., 6 n; character of, changes, 11; ravages Argentina, 12; civil, threatened in Cent. Amer., 35, 36; civil, there, ended, 42; Span.-Brit., 58; Franco-Brit., 146; Seven Years' 269-70; War of 1812, 457.
- Warsaw, Poland: int'l cong. to be held in, 357.
- Washburne, Charles A. (U. S. min. to Paraguay): activities, 8; friendly to López, 8; tries to get Braz. consent to mediation, 8-9; refuses allies condition, 9; efforts fail, 10; Seward criticizes, 13 n; letters by and to, cited, 5 n, 8 n-10 n, 17 n; book, cited, 9 n.
- Washington, D. C.: conf. in, proposed, 6; not suited for conf., 10; Burr and Wilkinson in, 154, 160; sanitary conv. signed in, 421 n.
- Washington, George: Pedro I. compared to, 179 n.
- Wauk, Juan: Brit. shipowner, 57 n.
- Weapons: various, mentioned, 54, 288, 294.
- Webb, J. Watson (U. S. min. in Brazil): not impartial, 16; letters to and by, cited, 4-6, and notes, 11 n, 13 n, 16, 16 n, 17 n.
- Weehawken, N. J.: duel at, 147.
- West, Elizabeth Howard: activities, 241, 492.
- Whitaker, Arthur Preston: book noticed, 403; cited, 276 n.
- White, Enrique (gov. of E. Fla.): letter to, cited, 150 n.
- Wiesse, Carlos: cited, 231.
- Wilgus, A. Curtis: activities, 261; reviews books, 77-80, 350-2, 474-6; article, 420-56; notes, 491, 538-9; list, 493-502.
- Wilkinson, Clennel: book noticed, 139-40.
- Wilkinson, Gen. James: in Philadelphia, 145; his relations with Williamson, 146, 169; various activities, 146-7, 159, 168; subsidized by Span., 147, 148; relations with Burr, 147, 158, 167, 168, 170; in Washington, 154; interested in Mex., 155; apptd. gov. of La. Terr., 155; his ambitious plans, 159-60; sends Pike to Santa Fé, 168; characterized, 146, 147, 149; cited, 147 n.
- Williams, George Dee: book noticed, 396-7.
- Williams, Mary Wilhelmine: reviews book, 477-8; cited, 3.
- Williamson, Charles (Brit. agt.): activities, 145-6, 151-4, 168-71; relations with Burr, 146, 149, 150, 160, 167, 169; his mission to Eng., 149-50; hostile to Jefferson, 150; possible dissatisfaction with, 153; delight in returning, 156; gains partisans in Europe, 161; warns of Fr. danger, 161; distrusts Miranda, 163; prepares to return to U. S., 164-5; urges Gt. Brit. to checkmate Fr., 166; in N. Y., 167; death, 171; effect of death, 173; letters by, cited, 145 n, 151 n, 152 n, 154 n, 163 n, 165, 165 n, 166, 167, 169 n, 170, 170 n, 171, 171 n.
- Williamson, David (Lord Balgray; brother of Charles): Burr approaches, 173; letter to, cited, 173.
- Willing, James: affidavit, cited, 54 n.
- Wills: of Peruvian family, 505; of Medrano Navarete, 507.
- Winder, Gen. William H.: his papers in Johns Hopkins Univ., 457; invited to act as agt., 457; career in war of 1812, 457; letters to Monroe, 458-9; Monroe writes, 459-61.
- Windham, William: letter to, cited, 169 n.
- Wines: taxed, 518.
- Winters, Nevin O.: cited, 90 n.

Women: regulations rdg. Ind., 315, 321-2, 324, 325-6.

Worcester, Dean C.: book reviewed, 80-2.

Wright, Irene A.: books reviewed, 336-8.

Wright, Philip G.: book reviewed, 338-40.

Wroth, Lawrence; book reviewed, 479-80.

XIMENEZ de Meza, Francisco: letter to, cited, 256-7.

Xovel, Rodrigo: paym't, 379.

YANACONAS: defined, 384 n, 510; taxes collected from, 382, 518; record rdg., 385.

Yañez, Francisco: cited, 452 n.

Yarmouth, Eng.: Burr in, 172.

Yela Utrilla, Juan F.: cited, 272 n.

Yucatan: has freedom of trade with La., 58.

ZABALA, Rómulo: activities, 491.

Zayas, Alfredo (Cuban pres.): govt. characterized, 284-5.

Zelaya, José Santos: caudillo in Nicaragua, 296; a prototype, 298.

Zorilla de San Martín, Juan: appreciation, 355-6.

